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PREFACE

This number of the Bulletin closely follows the principle mentioned in the previous issue, *viz.*, to devote greater attention to Tamil Traditions and Tamil culture and, at the same time emphasise the bonds of the traditional cultures of the other regions of South and South-East Asia.

In view of the larger number of articles from scholars and the length of the proceedings of the seminar on 'Patterns of Marriages' some sections like Bibliographical Notes, etc. had to be omitted. As in the previous issue, the authors were left free to use such diacritical marks as conformed to the system they followed, in view of the separate systems of transliteration in languages like, Tamil, and Sanskrit.

The Institute is grateful to all the scholars who have contributed a variety of articles on culture and traditions which appear in this number. It also had to hold over some valuable articles for considerations of space, for publication in the next issue.

The Government of Tamil Nadu and the Government of India have kindly continued the financing of the Institute and its activities. The University of Madras, under its distinguished Vice-Chancellor, Thiru N. D. Sundaravadivelu, continues to accommodate the Institute in its building providing it, with concomitant amenities and the full and hearty co-operation of all its departments in the activities of the Institute and, also bears the cost of paper and printing of the issues of the Institute's Bulletin. The Institute is grateful for all these valuable help, which has enabled it to continue to function and carry on its activities.

The Executive Committee has also given valuable help in running this Institute. Due to the increased costs of printing and paper, a small increase in the price of the Bulletin and a restriction in the distribution have become unavoidable. Also due to power cut, there has been some delay in bringing out this issue.

Madras.
10th Sep. 1973

K. K. PILLAY,
Director.

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SECTION I: ARTICLES

KRISHṆANVAKAIKKĀR

BY

DR. K. K. PILLAY, M.A., D.LITT., D.PHIL. (OXON)

The Krishṇanvakaikkār, now living mostly in Kalkulam and Vilavancode Taluks of the Kanyakumari District in Tamil Nadu, constitute an interesting community, historically and socially. They speak a language which is a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam. Some of them are patrilineal while others are matrilineal. Widow remarriage is not uncommon. When a married man dies, if any one of his brothers is alive and is unmarried, he may take her to wife, even though younger than herself.

Regarding their origin and early history there is a legend. According to it the ancestors of the Krishṇanvakaikkār originally lived in Ambāḍi at Dvāraka, the sacred place of Krishṇa. They are said to have belonged to the Vaiśyakula Kshatṛiya community. It is believed that after Lord Krishṇa's time internicine quarrels among these people resulted in some of their families leaving Dvāraka with an idol of Lord Krishṇa and a 'Sālagrāma' and ultimately reaching Travancore. On their way from Dvāraka they are said to have stayed for a time at Kānchipuram. They were called 'Āyar' and in the vicinity of Kānchipuram there is even now a place called Āyarpāḍi.

Reaching Travancore, a little before the commencement of the Kollam Era, (A.D. 825) it is said, they received the royal patronage of the local king called Pallivāṇapperumāḷ. This monarch gave them the name 'Krishṇanvakaikkār' and settled them in Palkulangara and Vanchiyur in Trivandrum. The idol of Śrī Krishṇa, which they brought with them was enshrined within the precincts of the Padmanābhasvāmi temple at

Trivandrum. It is said that on the outer wall the East fort of the Sri Padmanābhasvāmi temple at Trivandrum the names of the Gōtras of these 72 families have been inscribed and that at present 64 of them are clearly decipherable. The leaders of the Krishṇanvakaikkār were called 'Ananta Padmanabha Kshētṛa Pallavarāyar.[1]

The story goes that after some time the Brahmins attached to the Padmanābhasvāmi temple became jealous of the influence of the Krishṇanvakaikkār and instigated the ruler to expel them from Trivandrum. Thereupon, the king gave them permission to settle down in South Travancore between the 'Panni' river (Kulittura) and the Paṛaliāṛu near Paraseri west of Nagercoil. It is this region which is now occupied by the Krishṇanvakaikkār.

There is also another tradition that they came down to the south from Dvāraka on account of the confusion in North India caused by the Muslim invasions. All these legends do not constitute history.

The facts that they were described as 'Āyar' and that they are found now mostly in the Kalkulam and Vilavancode taluks of the Kanyakumari District suggest their affinity with the Āy kings of old. We hear of Āy Andiran, Titiyan and Atiyan in the Sangam classics. They were ruling in the region of the Potiyil hills, probably in the 1st century A.D.[2] Ptolemy (A.D. 140) speaks of the Āy kingdom as lying in present South Travancore. It is probable that, pressed by the Cheras, the Āys came down to the south by the 2nd century A.D.

We hear of them again from inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Kōkkarunandaḍakkan and Varaguṇa were Āy kings of the Yadava caste who ruled in and around

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1. This has led some to imagine that the Krishṇanvakaikkār had been associated with the Pallavas. But the title 'Pallavarāyar' was not confined to the Pallavas. Some Chola chieftains also bore this title.

2. *Puṛananūṛu*: 130 to 132. Titiyan is described as 'Potiyir Chelvan' *Aham*: 25: line 20. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai thinks that they ruled there in the 5th century A.D. This is based on his dating the S'angam age later, which is not valid.

Tiruviḍaikkōḍu.[3] This region is the stronghold of the Krishṇanvakaikkār. It is very likely that the Krishṇanvakaikkār belonged to the old clan of Āys.

Probably the last of the Āys became a king of Vēṇāḍ. 'Vēṇāḍ' is derived from a conjunction of Vēḷ with Nāḍ and the Āys were known also as Āy Vēḷs.[4] In this connection it is significant to note that the Census Report of Travancore (1901, p. 334) states that a Neet or royal grant belonging to 5th Chiṅgam (Āvaṇi) (A.D. 825) engraved in a copper plate was granted to them. It is probable that the Āy king of Vēnāḍ granted certain privileges to the members of his community in the year when the Kollam Era was inaugurated.

Now let us have an idea of their social organisation, customs and manners. The population of the Krishṇanvakaikkār was was 12,032 in 1931 and now it has risen to about 30,000. Though originally they were a pastoral community they became in due course a pre-eminently agricultural section. Education has not made notable progress among them, though, in recent times a number of men have taken to English education. The progress of women in the sphere of education is very poor. The people are typical of the backward villagers of Tamil Nadu.

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3. Travancore Archaeological series, Vol. I, sections I & II. Perhaps Tiruvaṭṭar, Viḻinjam and Kōṭṭār were capitals of these later Āy kings in different periods of time.

4. "It is learnt from later inscriptions that all the ruling chieftains south of Tiruvalla were Yādavas. There are reasons to believe that the Yadava family at Trippappur, near Trivandrum, which claimed ownership of the Sri Padmanābhasvāmy temple, was successor to the family of Karunandaḍakkan and other Āy Kings. By about the 12th century, this Trippappur family, the Keezhaperoor family of Vēṇāḍ and the Chiravai family at Athenthuruthi near Tiruvalla, were all united into one."

Elamkulam N. Kunjan Pillai: '*Studies in Kerala History*,' *p. 182*.

It is an open question whether the Narkuti Veḷḷaḷar and Kōṭṭai Vellalar of the Tirunelveli District, who claim descent from Iruṅkōvēḷ and who are said to have sojourned at Dvāraka previously, were related to the Krishṇanvakaikkār. All of these claim association with the Yādavas. But the Narkuṭi and Kōṭṭai Veḷḷāḷar are worshippers of S'iva while the Krishnanvakaikkar are worshippers of Krishṇa.

As mentioned earlier, one section of the Krishṇanvakaikkār follows the Makkattāyi or patrilineal system while another has adopted the Marumakkattāyam or matrilineal pattern of succession. Originally they were all Makkattayis. It is not known definitely when a section became Marumakkattāyis. In all probability after the ascendancy of the Nambudiris about the 8th century A.D. matriliny must have appeared gradually in Kerala. In order to preserve their property undivided, the Nambūdiris adopted the practice of the eldest son alone marrying in the same caste. Naturally the others took Kshatriya and Nayar women as concubines.[5] As a consequence the matrilineal system developed. The kings of Kerala adopted the system and imposed it as a regular custom among Nayars, Ēlavas, Krishṇanvakaikkār and Nānchinad Vellālas.

Religion: They are pre-eminently Vaishṇavites and particularly worshippers of Śrī Krishṇa. Each one of their villages has a temple dedicated to Śrī Krishṇa. In recent times there are temples of Subrahmaṇia, too. The famous Subrahmaṇia temple at Kumarakoyil is situated near the heart of the Krishṇanvakai settlements. On Fridays, and particularly on the last Friday of the month according to the Hindu calendar, throngs of people including the Krishṇanvakaikkār visit and worship at this temple.

There are also temples dedicated to Māriamman in most of their villages. The common masses have a great faith in the worship of Māriamman. In the month of Kārtigai (November-December) there take place special pūjas in this temple for thirty days. During such occasions certain devotees get possessed and take to frenzied dances. Their utterances during the excited dance are often listened to by the people with eagerness and are believed to be the outcome of divine inspiration. Formerly animal sacrifices were common in the Māriamman shrines; but since 1922 they have been given up.

There are many devotees of Aiyappa. Some of the people undertake a pilgrimage to the celebrated shrine of Aiyappa at

5. The Chōla-Chera wars of the 11th century A.D. necessitating the absence of Kshatriyas and Nayars from their homes, was a contributory factor, but its role should not be exaggerated as has been done by Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai.

Sabarimala. Among proper names given to people, many have affinity to Vishnu and Krishna, some to Subrahmania and Aiyappan.

Child Birth Ceremonies : The rituals and ceremonies conducted from the birth of a child till the death may now be considered. As in the case of other Hindu communities among the Krishnanvakaikkārs, too, the birth of a male child is eagerly welcomed. However, when a child, boy or girl, is born, the women folk of the caste in the village visit the house and they join in raising a musical chorus with the tip of the tongue. This is done with notable enthusiasm if the baby is of the male sex. A purification ceremony takes place on a Wednesday or Saturday after 12 or 13 days subsequent to the delivery of the child. Immediately prior to it the white washing of the walls and cleaning of the house take place. On the day of purification the child is presented with ornaments by the near relatives and a feast for the relatives and the intimate friends of the family follows.

The first anniversary of the child's birth is celebrated with enthusiasm. On that occasion, there is a ceremony called 'Nūlkettu' which is conducted in the family temple, if there is one, or in the common temple of the village. On this occasion, the near relatives of the child present it with ornaments of gold or silver. It is notable that these ornaments are of the same pattern as those believed to have been worn by Lord Krishna when he was a boy.

Puberty : The attainment of puberty of a girl is followed by some ceremonies. Intimation is given to relatives and friends in the neighbourhood. The village priest called 'Āśān' sprinkles some raw rice on the head of the girl seated in a room with a light in front of her and presents the purificatory oil with which she anoints herself. Soon after the women gather together, the girl is given a bath. Thereafter the girl is made to sit in front of a full-blown coconut flower for a time. This is done each day till the 8th day. On the 8th day a ceremony takes place. Relatives and friends, particularly womenfolk visit the house. The girl is given a purificatory bath. She is presented with gifts of new cloth; among rich people gifts of ornaments are given. A feast follows. It is important to remember that the ceremony

attached to puberty is now rarely celebrated. The rich, and even among them only a few, continue to celebrate it. The bath, feast and giving of presents are done in the presence of the nearest relatives only. It is notable that among the people of other communities this celebration, wherever it is performed, is done on the 13th or 15th day of the attainment of puberty.

Marriage: Till about fifty years ago pre-puberty marriage and even child marriage was common. A girl of eight or ten years was married to a man of about 20 years of age. But now it has changed and late marriages are generally in vogue. This is particularly so among the educated people.

In the matter of fixing up matches *gōtra* is not a criterion; on the other hand the amount of money paid by way of dowry, the status of the family and other considerations prevail.

Intermarriages are not permitted. Uutil recently one who intermarries was banished from the village. The relatives of the person who marries from another caste cut off their relations with him. In recent times, however, intercaste marriages take place occasionally. Intermarriages with Nayars show a tendency to increase. Mostly intermarriages are cases of the men of the Krishṇanvakai caste marrying girls of other communities.

Betrothal: After the initial negotiations the parents of the bride and bridegroom meet the astrologer with the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom. If found suitable the bride's father and uncle (mother's eldest brother) go to the bridegroom's house and make a formal proposal. After the terms are formally settled, there takes place the betrothal ceremony during which the two horoscopes are read out by the astrologer. Then, with the consent of the relatives of the bride and bridegroom, the astrologer ties together the two horoscopes. The auspicious dates for the various ceremonies, like the marriage, the erection of the wedding altar and the wedding pandal or thatched shed are all fixed. At the betrothal there is no provision for the meeting of the bride and bridegroom. In fact, the two do not meet before the day of the wedding.

Marriage ceremony: It is important to note that usually among the Krishṇanvakaikkar the marriage takes place in the

house of the bridegroom, though in a few cases it is held in the house of the bride. On the day prior to the marriage the relatives of the bridegroom and bride meet in the respective houses of the bridegroom and bride and prepare for the ceremony. The next day at the appointed time the party of the bride starts in a procession to the house of the bridegroom.

On the marriage day the bride and bridegroom offer prayers to the family deities. It is the usual practice to have an image or a picture of Lord Krishṇa in the place where the marriage ceremony is held. Pūja is performed to this representation of Krishṇa.

At the wedding ceremony the girl's uncle (mother's brother) plays an important role. It is he who takes her to the wedding altar, the raised platform, and presides over the marriage ceremony. The practice of tying the marriage symbol (Tāli) by the bridegroom assisted by his sister is in vogue. Compared to that of certain other communities, the wedding ceremony among the Krishṇanvakaikkar is simple. In cases of pre-puberty marriages, the nuptials used to take place on an auspicious day some time after the girl attains puberty.

Early in the morning of the marriage day the bridegroom must wash the feet of his mother. He receives then a garland of flowers from his mother with her blessings. It is interesting to observe that the bridegroom goes in state to the house of the bride, sword in hand. This is not a symbol of the martial tradition of the caste, because the Krishṇanvakaikkār were never known to have played a part in warfare. Apparently it is only a symbol of manliness. The bride and party arrive. Soon after this the bridegroom is led to the wedding hall where stands the wedding altar. A little before the wedding takes place the bride's brother washes the feet of the bridegroom, who in his turn presents him with a gold ring, or in modern times a wrist watch.

The marriage altar of wood would have been improvised near the entrance of the house. The bride's father or bridegroom's father, whoever comes from another place to the wedding gives a marriage fee to the village President. Arrears of taxes to the village also must be cleared. If the arrears

to the village are not cleared, the villagers do not attend the function.

At the outset a plantain tree having a bunch of fruits is tied to a post of the dais. A branch of a tree called the Mullu Murungai (Erythrina Indica) which has sharp thorns is tied to the plantain tree. This is said to signify that married life is the union of diverse tendencies and habits, symbolised by the union of the thorny tree with the smooth plantain tree. The bottom of the plantain tree is covered with clean mud. A tall lighted lamp of brass or eversilver (Nila Viḷakku) is kept in the altar. This lamp is eventually given as a gift to the bride by her eldest uncle. On a plantain leaf there will be a measure full of paddy, betel leaves and arecanut and a symbolic representation of Ganeśa shaped out of cowdung.

At the outset the bride and bridegroom go round the wedding altar three times. The bridegroom's sister and brother-in-law accompany them. The wife of the bride's brother and the bride's sister lead them with a lighted hanging lamp. Then the bride and bridegroom take their seats facing east on a small raised platform on the marriage altar. The bride takes her seat to the left of the bridegroom, after which a small piece of iron fastened to a thread is tied to the right hand of the bridegroom and left hand of the bride. This is done under the belief that troubles from devils and ghosts could be warded off by the iron piece. Thereafter the bridegroom presents the bride her wedding clothes which she puts on.

For the second time the bride and bridegroom go round the altar. When they resume their seats on the plank they exchange garlands. After that the bridegroom ties a chain bearing the Tāli (Tirumāṅgalyam) made of gold around her neck. At that time the piper plays his instrument loudly. The Tāli is believed to be the symbol of chastity and fidelity to her husband.[6] The married woman should always wear it around her neck. After another exchange of garlands between the bride and bridegroom, the bride's uncle (mother's brother) recants the names of all the ancestors of both the parties and loudly

6. However the tali is not removed on the husband's death.

proclaims that the daughter of such and such person of such and such family is duly wedded to the boy of such and such a family. Then he pours some water on a palm leaf held together by the bride and bridegroom. This really symbolises the *Kanyādānam* i.e. the giving of the girl in gift to the bridegroom. Formally this is taken to mean that the bride's uncle will provide property and gifts to the couple. Thereafter the couple receives the blessings and presents from the elders and relatives. The bride and bridegroom are given plantain fruit and milk. Then they go in procession to the village temple. This is followed by a feast.

After the marriage the bridegroom pays a formal visit to the house of the bride and it is a custom for the mother-in-law to give him some presents. On the third day of the marriage an interesting scene is enacted. Some members of the bride's party proceed to the bridegroom's house with apparent indignation. The efforts of the bridegroom's relatives to pacify them are fruitless. Then the bride's party returns to the bride's house even without partaking of the proferred hospitality. The significance of this farce seems to be a demonstration of pretended indignation that the bride has been taken away by the bridegroom.

On the 3rd day of the marriage the bride and bridegroom should sow the seeds of peas, paddy and other corns, altogether amounting to nine varieties in three earthen-ware cups. On the seventh day the germinated seeds are taken to the adjoining river or pond and dropped into the water. The germination of the seeds is believed to symbolise the birth of children to the newly wedded couple.

On the seventh day of the marriage there is a celebration which is described as the seventh day marriage. That day the bride serves food to the bridegroom at the wedding altar. Up to this day the bride and bridegroom are not to go out of the house. This injunction is rarely observed in modern times. After the celebration of the seventh day marriage, the altar at which the wedding took place is to be removed.

It is important to remember that on occasions like marriage the people of the village co-operate with those who celebrate them.

In the erection of the pandal, conduct of the feast and in respect of the systematic adherence to the customary rites, the elders of the villages lend a helping hand. But in recent times the urbanised pattern of life has weakened the co-operation of the neighbours.

Seemantham takes place in the seventh month of pregnancy. The pregnant woman's parents and relatives go to her husband's house where a feast is held. After certain celebrations including the presentation of some money to the husband, the bride is taken to her parents' house. No separate celebration, known as 'Vaḷakāppu' common among people of other communities, takes place among the Krisṇanvakaikkār.

Festivals: The Krishṇanvakaikkār celebrate all Hindu festivals like Dīpāvaḷi, Poṅgal and Paṅguni Uttiram. The special festivals of the Malayalis like Vishu, Pooram and Ōṇam are also celebrated by them. Special festivals associated with Vishṇu, like Krishṇa Jayanti and Vaikuṇta Ekādaśi are held among them with marked enthusiasm.

Superstitions and Omens: There is a general belief in spirits, devils and supernatural powers. Sorcery and witchcraft are prevalent. There is a superstition regarding the occurrence of epidemics, such as small pox and cholera. The people attribute these to the wrath of the Ambaḷ. Some deities like Mariamman and Māḍan are propitiated for recovery from illness. Devil dance is common. People attach importance to auspices like the sound of owls and lizards, at the time of the commencement of any important thing.

Funeral Ceremonies: Children and youngsters up to about ten years of age are buried; the others are cremated. Cremation is usually done in the place allotted to particular families. Both the burial and burning are done with the dead body in a lying position. The pit for both burial and cremation is dug in the North-South direction. The head is always laid southward, facing north.

When a person's death is found to be certain, the hands and legs of the dead are tied and the eyes and mouth are closed. At the moment of death water from the Ganges is

poured into the mouth; if that is not available, milk is used for the purpose.

When a person dies, his eldest son should cry aloud thereby announcing to the villagers that his father is dead. Soon after almost all the elder members of the village gather in the house of the dead. At the outset the son or any other close relation of the deceased should pay the customary dues to the village and when that is done, the village President sends men to fetch the village barber. Thereafter intimation is given to the relatives of the deceased in the neighbouring villages and towns. The dead person's brothers, sisters and daughters must be present at the house at the funeral ceremony. His sons and daughters should make certain offerings, pay obeisance to the deceased and perform certain customary duties to the dead body, known as "Karma."

According to the prevalent custom the relatives of the dead person arrive in the house, each bringing five or seven measures of paddy and a coconut. Barber women pound the paddy and get rice out of it. Some of the coconuts are crabbed and mixed with the rice, which is used for putting into the mouth of the dead person later. The other coconuts are split and are used for lighting lamps made of fresh cloth and oil. These lamps are placed on the side of the dead body.

The corpse is washed with soap and sandalwood paste; in modern times scent is also applied to it. Then the body is dressed with new and costly clothes. Finally the corpse is covered with a long white cloth and on top of it a gaudy red cloth is spread.

A temporary shed is erected in front of the house and there the dead body is placed on a cot. On the sides of the dead body burning lamps are kept. If the dead person is a man, the wailing widow must be near the dead body. The women who come to attend the ceremony untie their hair as a sign of grief. They wail together, praising the dead person's virtues and beneficent deeds. Much of it is conventional. The songs appeal to God that the deceased should reach Kailāsa (Heaven). The account of Chitragupta is also

narrated through songs in a graphic manner. Then all the women begin to cry standing shoulder to shoulder, and slowly moving round and pointing to the corpse with their two hands, frequently beat their own breasts. Some pattern of traditional songs is repeated by them. It need hardly be added that modern young women fight shy of these traditional customs and do not fall in line with them. A few pious women read verses from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Gīta and other sacred literature in praise of Lord Krishṇa.

Before touching the dead body which is in the canopy in front of the house every one should take bath. The dead body is considered something sacred and obeisance to the dead body is expected of all. The eldest son leads with a copper vessel on his head, and the women are led by the dead person's eldest daughter. On their way to the tank again the women continue their wail. On return each one of the persons puts a handful of rice into the mouth of the dead person as a final offering. A few drops of water are also poured into the mouth. All the relatives do these as a duty which signifies affection and respect to the dead person. Those who put rice and pour a little water into the mouth of the dead person bow their heads before the corpse and worship it by prostrating before it. The final offer of the rice is done by the eldest daughter of the dead person.

Some of the near relatives of the dead person, after taking their bath, carry the corpse placed on a structure of bamboo poles. At the moment of the leaving of the party from the house there is loud wailing and lamentation of the womenfolk. The women closely related to the dead person kneel down and worship the body as it is taken out.

The funeral procession, consisting of relatives and friends, is led by the eldest son of the dead person. He carries on his head a copper vessel (kiṇḍi) with a long spout. The village barber carries fire in a mud pot. When the party reaches the burial ground, the corpse is taken out of the structure of bamboo poles and placed on the dried coconut shells which are already laid systematically on the burial pit.

At the burning ghat there take place certain rituals. At the outset a small portion of the cloth just above the mouth

of the dead body is cut open. Then a long piece of white cloth cut out of a larger piece is spread over the corpse. Over this white cloth a red gaudy cloth is spread. A portion of the white cloth is worn by the dead person's eldest son who performs the *Karmadhi* or burial rites. Small sticks of tamarind tree are planted all around the corpse.

The male relatives of the dead offer one by one the remaining rice brought from the house. One by one they kneel down near the dead body, take a handful of rice and place it on the mouth of the dead and pour a little water. No ornament of any kind is to remain on the dead body; they are all removed and handed over to the relatives. However, walking sticks and other things frequently used by the dead person are kept by the side and burnt along with the corpse.

Soon after, the dead body is covered by the cloths, white and red, and sandalwood is applied to the corpse below the surface of the cloth. Thereafter the pit is filled with firewood and above it a layer of coconut shells and husks is spread. It is covered on top by straw and above it mud is spread. Then the funeral pyre is lit by fire.

While the smoke begins to rise the eldest son of the dead person goes around the pyre with a mud pot of water on his head. Then some one makes a hole on one part of the pot. In the second and third rounds he makes similar holes on the pot, and water flows in all directions from the holes. After the third round, the son who was carrying the pot flings it down near the head of the corpse. Then once again the relatives kneel down and offer a final worship to the dead person.

After cremation all the relatives return home. Four elders of the village sit on some plaited coconut leaves, a little farther off from the funeral pit. Three of the persons repeat what the eldest, invariably the President of the village, says. First he mentions the name of the dead person, his or her age, the natal star, the date, year and star on which the death occurred. Then he proclaims that all the villagers and relatives have been informed. Next he spells out the ceremonies that remain to be performed. Some remuneration of money is given

to the village barber, his wife and children and to the other servants who rendered help in the burial.

Ceremonies on the third day: On the 3rd day of the cremation some elders of the village and relatives of the deceased proceed to the burial ground and ascertain whether the corpse is burnt properly or not. In case it is not burnt fully, they see to it that some more firewood and coconut shells are added.

Near the burial pit a temporary shed is erected with green coconut leaves. It is a traditional belief that green coconut leaves should not be used except on this occasion.

Three coconuts are used to serve as an oven and the husk of coconut flowers is used to cook rice, peas, plantains and sesamum all together. Then the sons of the deceased have their hair on the head completely shaved. The eldest son after bath wears that white piece of cloth which was cut from the cloth used for spreading over the dead body before the funeral. He enters the shed of thatched coconut leaves. Then he cooks the things on a hearth with the aid of dried coconut husks. After about half an hour he puts the cooked food on a plantain leaf. Next he carries the food having on his head the copper vessel which was carried by him on his head on the funeral day and moves to the nearest tank or river and deposits the food there.[7] The barbers are fed at the end of the ceremonies on the third day.

In the evening of the third day tender coconuts are placed in the shed made of green leaves in the belief that the dead person may drink the juice if he is in need of it. A lamp burns in that shed.

At home the ladies wail thrice at night extolling the virtues and good deeds of the dead person. The daughters and daughters-in-law cry holding the four posts of the cot used during his or her life time. This daily routine is carried on without fail for ten days continuously.

7. It is a traditional inhibition among the Krishnanvakaikkār that they should not have the hair on the head shaved or carry on their head, any copper, brass or bronze vessel on the head except on funeral occasions.

On the tenth day all the relatives and villagers assemble in the same house in the early morning. At about 8 a.m. the temporary shed erected on the day of the death is removed. Then paddy is given to the village washerman and barber. It is notable that the paddy is measured in full with the paddy overflowing the unit of measure. Then the men of the village and the male relatives of the dead person proceed to the burial ground in a procession.

From the funeral pit burnt pieces of bones are collected and cleaned by water. Secondly they are cleaned by the cow's urine. Thereafter they are successively cleaned by fresh water, coconut juice, milk and nowadays by scent. At last they are allowed to dry in the sunlight. Meanwhile the grave is filled with sand which is shaped in the form of a sleeping person. Then the bones are brought on a plantain leaf and placed in a western direction. Each one of the persons assembled takes a piece of bone and places it with respect first in a big earthern pot and then in a smaller one. The elderly males put the bones three times, but the boys and girls are allowed to put the bones into these two pots only one time. It is considered as a sacred duty that all the kith and kin should place pieces of bones into these two pots because they believe that by carrying the burnt bones and immersing them into the sea, the body of the dead mingles with the sea. These two pots are each tied with a white cleanly - washed cloth. Then the big pot is covered with a red cloth.

In the middle of the burial pit a tender coconut palm tree is planted. A thorny bush - like prickly pear is placed by its side. It is the belief that if the dead person is a noble one, the coconut tree will grow up and will yield plenty of fruits, if not, it will not grow. It is also a belief that the prickly pear should not grow in the midst of cultivated fields or habitable regions. Then they sow seeds of five varieties of grains, paddy, cotton, sesame, green peas and black peas. The sowing is done with the heads of the seeds pointing downward. These are all ominous indications of the evil that had befallen the family.

Then the party returns to the house with the two pots containing the burnt bones. The eldest son of the deceased

person should carry it on his cleanly shaven head. The party is led by the village barber who drags a spade as he walks along. In normal times the spade should not be drawn on the ground but carried in the hand or over the shoulder.

Several ceremonies take place in the house after the party reaches it. First the oldest woman member of the house places a grain of rice made of gold in the big pot. Other women and the girls place flowers; and it must be noticed that certain flowers (like the teṟṟi) alone are used on this occasion. The women sing in a wailing tone particular songs with a peculiar melody and significance. Some of them read verses from the Gita or Rāmāyaṇa. Eventually when the offer of worship to the bones is completed by every kith and kin of the deceased, the pot is tied with two clothes, first by a white one and then above it by a red one. All these rites are performed near the front door of the house where the flooring would have been cleaned with cowdung. Then the pot is decorated with garlands. Finally a prayer is offered and incense is burnt. Then the eldest sister of the deceased takes the pot and places it on the head of the eldest son with much respect and intense feeling, because she is rendering a final homage to the dead person before the bones are cast to the seas. The other small pot is put near the house and kept for a year. After one year it is deposited into one or the other of the holy places like Kanyakumari, Kasi and Ramesvaram. Alternatively it is deposited in sacred rivers like the Kaveri or the Ganges.

The men who carry the ashes of the dead go to that part of the sea which is called 'Balis sea' near the light - house at Muṭṭam. There they deposit the ash into the sea. All of them who go with the party take a bath in the sea. They give alms to the poor and eventually return home with one or two bottles of sea water.

The persons who return home after completing their traditional rites on the sea shore are received warmly. They sprinkle the sea water in all the rooms of the house with the belief that it will clear all sins and purify the house.

The close relatives of the dead person present clothes to the sons and daughters of the deceased. It is a custom that they should wear those clothes. They are described as the "clothes of the dead". At noon there is a feast. It is called the tenth feast and the ceremony itself is known as the tenth day ceremony.

On the 16th and 41st days of the death, sweet delicacies (some of them are brought by the relatives) are served in a room when all people remain outside it under the belief that the dead may come and partake of these sweet foodstuffs.

On every month 'Balis' are offered on that particular day on which the star of the dead person's death falls. (Here Bali means not sacrifice but certain offerings). It is called 'Māsa Bali'. This must be done without fail.

On the anniversary day i.e. on the particular day in which the star of the day of death falls, the relatives bring sweet food of various kinds and they are placed in a room (dining hall) for five minutes with the belief that the dead person will come and partake of it. New clothes are hung at one corner of the house so that the dead may not go without clothes. When a child or any other member of the family suffers from physical or mental disease the orthodox people offer sweet food and fresh clothes to the dead. In these ways they respect their ancestors and they believe that the dead will protect them in the form of devils and angels. But the educated people of modern times generally have no faith in these ideas and practices. Now certain conventional formalities alone are observed.

Pollution: For 41 days after death pollution is observed. During those days the relatives of the dead should not go to temples, should not attend weddings or other ceremonies. The sons and daughters of the dead should follow it for one year in memory of the deceased person.

Purification can be had only after immersing the remaining ashes of the dead in the holy sea and after the "year Bali" (annual Bali) with the help of a brahmin who receives rice, vessels, vegetables and other accessories. Then they sprinkle sea water brought from the holy sea for purification. They call for a brahmin

priest and make him perform some pūjas of purification. Thus the purification is over.

Periodical ceremonies after death: Monthly balis take place when they make offerings of five grains and banana fruits and other food-stuffs to the dead in the morning and get them immersed in a stream, river, sea or tank nearby. These must be done on the particular star of the death day and must be continued for one year. Then every year the same bali is continued on the anniversary of the day of death.[8]

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8. I am indebted to Thiru A. Govinda Pillai, Professor of History, Periyar E.V.R. College, Tiruchirappalli, for details furnished to me regarding the customs of the Krishṇanvakaikkār.

THE URBAN PHASE OF ANCIENT TAMIL CULTURE

(Concluded)

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Social Life :

The Social, intellectual and artistic aspects of the urban-life of the ancient Tamils are the most attractive.

It is really more difficult to reconstruct the social history of a people. Yet it is worth undertaking. As G. M. Trevelyan[1] says, "If disinterested intellectual curiosity is tne life-blood of real civilisation, social history provides one of its forms." The mode of life led by the people in the urban areas is an important aspect of our study of urban culture. There are well-marked differences in matters of furniture, food, dress, habits and customs. In Silappathikāram and Maṇimékalai, we see more of the description of urban-social life than that of the villages.

Caste :

Tamiḷakam, appears to have five clearly well-marked physiographic regions, with distinctive geographical features. The "Neydal region" studded with coastal towns, had its own characteristics and natural advantages. Doubtless, it must

1. English Social History - Introduction P. vii.

have started with humble beginnings. It was the home of the "Paradavar" (the fisher folk), fishing very near the coast to begin with gradually extending their activities far into the sea. In due course, this ancient class must have produced famous sailors, who later carried Indian goods in boats to Malaya, Indonesia and China in the East and to Arabia and Africa in the West. There are numerous references in the early Sangam classics to the "Paradavar"[2] selling their wares, particularly salt in the neighbouring regions. They used oxen to carry the merchandise. Traversing through marshy and difficult pathways, they reached the interior villages where they bartered their goods. Apart from being fishermen and traders, they were boat-builders too.

In contrast to other geographical regions, the quarters of the rich merchants in the Neydal presented an opulent look, a sign of affluence. There were several streets of the rich Paradavar. Comparatively, their houses were massive buildings containing large godowns.[3] On the terraces of these big buildings, torches were burning throughout the night, serving as light-houses.[4] The womenfolk of the rich Paradavar were bedecked with jewels made of gold and precious gems. The Paradavar took pork and liquor, toddy-shops being located near the houses of the Paradavar. Perhaps, they were the pioneers in the process of urbanising.

A comspicuous feature that we note from such description is considerations of superiority of certain castes over others. It had also influenced the segregation of the different castes.[5] It is strange that such distinctions are more pronounced in cities than in the relatively rural tracts. Besides tribes and regional groups, we come across with occupational divisions like the Kaikōḷar, Kammāḷar, Tuṇṇakkārar and others and

2. **Paradavar:** *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 24 : 30 : 378 etc.

3. *Perumpāṇaṟuppatai* : Ll 322-4

4. **Ibid:** Ll-349-51

5. The *Silappathikāram* mentions the instance of the goldsmith walking at a distance from that part of the street where peopel of the higher castes including Kōvalan. the Vaisya wss walking (Silappathikāram XVI : 107)

quarters separately marked out as their places of residence.[6] The available references indicate that the occupational division had already become hereditary. The references however, do not affirm about rigidity and a large measure of laxity existed. But the distinctions of superiority among the various castes had already emerged.[7] But the pattern we see here seems to be indigenous. The Āryan system of varṇa was perhaps influencing the course of the system. The mutual contact between the indigenous and the alien in due course must have produced an altogetherly different pattern later.[8] The conglomeration must have resulted in a dynamic system with its ever increasing sub-castes and the growth of inhibitions and strict observances. The very fact that the system was more patent in the urban areas than in rural tracts, is suggestive and perhaps strengthens the view that this social phenomena in the extreme south was indigenous, and seeks its roots in occupational bias rather than endogamous or evangelical factors.

Food, Dress, and Ornaments :

In matters of food, the Sangam classics show that the menu was simple. Yet great importance was attached to food, the sustainer of life.[9] In respect of rural belts, Flora and Fauna of the land, primarily seem to have determined the nature of food. In marked contrast to the frequent mention of meat fish and toddy, we come across with different items in the cities. Silappathikāram describes the preparation of the meal for Kōvalan by Aiyai of the cowherd caste.[10] It is evident that great care had been bestowed on making the food delicious. The fitness of the palate was highly developed. In the menu-

6. See *ante*

7. I. Mahadevan admits that even by the 2nd century B.C. occupations had become hereditary as revealed by the Brahmi inscriptions Ref: Paper read at the second International Tamil conference.

8. Usage of words like: Iḷipirappalan, Iḷicinan. Ref: *Puranānūru*: 82 : 13; 187 : 2; 289 : 10; 170 : 5 etc. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar: "Pre. Aryan Tamil culture P. 20 A.L. Basham: "The wonder that was India". P. 138

9. *Puranānūru*: 18 : 20.

10. Ref: Silappathikāram XXX: 189 Manimekalai XX: 52.4 Ibid XXVIII: 116.

of food served to Kōvalan, there is a significant omission of non-vegetarian dish. We have references to wine being served by Greek girls to the members of the royal household.

In the matter of dress too, we hear of a variety in the classics.[11] Cotton and silk clothes were in vogue in the cities. The Yavanās put on loose jackets resembling shirts.[12] Silappathikāram gives us instances of people in the cities taking to the practice of wearing shirts.[13] Perhaps, these in royal service, heading departments are referred to as having the shirts. Perhaps the king too wore shirts when on official duty or war. It is also clear from references that garments of the spun wool too were used.[14]

Ornaments were immensely popular and there were numerous varieties of them for men and women.[15] The particular ornaments adopted by individuals depended on the social and economic status of the persons concerned. The Kadalādukādai of Silappathikāram gives a vivid picture of the ornaments used by society women of the age. Among them, the ornament "Valampuri" is of some interest. "Valampuri Toyyāham and Pullāham adorned the head of Mādhavi.[16] There are ample references to Valampuri in the Sangam classics.[17] But the references in the classics do not seem to denote an ornament. In all probability, this ornament, popular in coastal towns owed its name to the fact that it was shaped like a valampuri conch or Oyster-shell. The ornament was worn on the forehead.

'Silambu' worn around the ankles was a precious ornament. The 'Silambu' used by the rich was studded with precious

11. *Pathirruppattu*: 12 : 20 : 21.
Puranānūru : 390 : 15 ; 392 : 14-15.
Porunārruppatai : 468-70 etc., etc.

12. *Mullaippāttu* : 60.

13. *Silappathikāram* : XVI - 107.

14. *Silappathikāram* : XVI - 107.

15. Ibid : XIV : 205 - 7 — "Ornaments in Sangam age" Journal of Indian History, Vol. XLVI Part II August 1968 — Ref. : R. Champakalakshmi.

16. *Silappathikāram* : VI 106 – 7.

17. *Akanānūru* : 201 : 5; *Puranānūru* : 225; *Kalithokai* : 135 : 1 *Mullaippattu* : 2; *Perumpānarruppatai* : 35.

stones.[18] References in Akanānūru mention 'Kudaichchul,'[19] as one of the ornaments worn by women round the anklets. From the description that we get, in this text, perhaps it was a different variety altogether. Another interesting information we have is that the Silambu was worn by nubile girls and they were removed on their marriage at a special ceremony.[20] However such a custom does not seem to be current at the coastal town of Puhār. Kaṇṇagi continued to have the Silambu even after her marriage.

'Aimpadaittāli' is another ornament that commands our attention. Sangam works like Akanānūru and Puranānūru mention the Tāli worn by children, though the commentators identify it with Aimpadaittāli.[21] An unmistakable reference to it is made in the Maṇimēkalai.[22] Aimpadaittāli was a necklace consisting of the five emblems of Tirumāl namely Sangu, Chakram, Vil, Vāl and Gadai. Kuruntokai refers to 'Pulippaltali-ppudalvar.[23] This reference is suggestive and lends scope to presume that Pulippaltāli of the rural belt, came to be connected with the marriage symbol. There is an explicit reference to Aimpaḍaittāli in Puranānūru which says that it was worn by children till they become adolescent.[24]

Among the customs and manners of the townfolk, love and marriage deserve our detailed consideration. Early Tamil literature has emphasized the distinctive features of love associated by convention with each physiographical region. Of them Neydal is said to reflect the agony of the lovers when they meet with some obstacle to the smooth development of their love. The obstacle very often arises either on account of the inability of the male lover to meet his sweetheart for a long time. More often, the circumstances are participation in war on

18. *Silappathikāram* : XVI 116 - 9 (Adyārkkunallar's commentary).

19. *Akanānūru* : 148 : 9 - 10.

20. *Silappathikāram* IX : 73 ; XX : 42—Kaṇṇagi had the Silambus. Whether she was wearing it is a moot question.

21. *Akananūru* : 54 - 18 ; *Puranānūru* : 77 : 7.

22. *Maṇimēkalai* : III : 133.

23. *Kuruntokai* 161 - 3.

24. *Puranānūru* : 77 ; 7.

behalf of the State, embarkation on distant ventures for acquiring wealth or prolonged residence in remote places for the purpose of education. All these have been avocations of the town folk, occupying coastal areas.

References in Sangam literature about this important social custom are many. A peculiar custom among the Āyars was that, a woman's hand is to be won only after the victory in a Bull fight.[25] Law givers[26] like Manu and Yāgnavalkya refer to the bestowal of money or gift on the girl as a condition precedent to the marriage. Similar practices are mentioned in the Akanānūṟu.[27] There also appears to have been the practice of settling marriages by relatives or elders with or without the "Bride-price."[28] While the payment of 'bride price' is mentioned in some of the Sangam works there is no reference to payment of money to the bride-groom.[29]

The approaching harvest season was usually considered to be the most auspicious time for the wedding.[30] It coincided with the blossoming of the vēngai tree. The Akanānūṟu poems 86 and 136 give us a picture of the wedding ceremony. In poem (86) it is said " There was a huge heap of rice cooked with pulse. On the floor of the Pantal, built on long rows of wooden columns, was spread fresh sand, House-lamps were lighted. The bride-groom and bride were adorned with flower garlands. In the beautiful morning, on the day of the bright moon, when the stars shed no evil influence, some women carrying pots on the head, others bearing new broad bowls, handed

25. *Kalittokai* : 101 and 103 ; (26) Law givers like Manu and Yāgnavalkya mention about eight forms of marriages: Brahma, Daiva, Arsha, Prajapathya, Asura, Gāndharva, Rākshasa and Paisācha.

27. *Akanānūṟu* : 90 - 280.

28. *Ainkuṟunūṟu* : 147 - 3 Intances of man marrying a second time, even while the first wife was alive are met with. In one such case the man also had paid a bride price Ainkuṟunūṟu : 292 : 3 - 5 : Ref. : Akanānūṟu 86 : 136.

29. Akanānūṟu : 90 Narriṇai : 300.

30. The day when the waxing moon was in conjunction with the star Rohiṇi.

them one after another, while fair elderly dames were making much noise. Mothers of sons, with bellies marked with beauty spots, wearing beautiful ornaments, poured water on the bride, so that her black hair shone bright with cool petals of flowers and rice grains and at the same time, they blessed her saying "Do not swerve from the path of chastity, be serviceable in various ways to your husband who loves you and live with him as his wife." On the night after the marriage ceremony was over the neighbouring ladies assembled, dressed the bride in new clothes and sent her to the arms of her lover, to which she went with trepidation.

This description though vivid, yet is disappointing. We hear nothing of the ritual. Of social life of the Tamils, there are some inevitable gaps. We would like to know rather more about the institution of marriage than we are able to gather from Sangam anthologies. There is no mention of Tāli, the marriage symbol. Poem 127 of Puṟanāṉūṟu shows that the married women wore an ornament which could not be given away as a gift to any one, even by the husband. The Akanāṉūṟu poem 136, supplements the information provided above by poem 86. It mentions the loud sound of the drums (Muṟasoli) and the worship of Gods prior to wedding. The food served was rice, cooked with ghee and meat.

These references in Akanāṉūṟu poems can be taken as picturing the Tamilian form of marriage ceremony among the rural folk of ancient Tamiḻakam. Kalitthokai refers to the brahmin priests and the practice of circumambulating the sacrificial fire.[31]

Silappathikāram[32] gives a full description of Kōvalan's marriage, which may be taken as a sample of a marriage in urban areas, particularly of the relatively affluent class. An elderly brahmin performs the vedic rites and conducts the marriage ceremoney. He makes the married couple circumambulate the sacred fire. Kaṇṇagi is blessed to be like "Arundathi"

31. *Kalittokai*: 69 : 5 - 4; K. N. Sivaraja Pillai considers this as one of the latter works of the Sangam age (Chronology of Early Tamils P. 199). Some of this premises are open to question.

32. *Silappathikāram*: I : 52 - 3.

more than once. The marriage is performed in a magnificient scale, in keeping with the status of the parties concerned. A grand procession through the streets is referred to. Large number of people, including gaily dressed women carrying pots of water and valuable presents crowded the place where the ceremony was to take place. A custom to be noted is that small earthernware vessels which contained germinating seeds were brought by some women. It is interesting that similar details are also found in Perumpāṇārṟupatai.[33]

Kaṇṇagi was twelve years of age and Kōvalan sixteen at the time of marriage. They are stated to have started their house-hold life soon after the wedding. Apparently, she must have attained puberty at that time. The earliest accounts of marriage furnished by the Akanānūṟu states that the nuptials were held on the night of the wedding day itself. Nachchinārkiniyar holds that, as a result of the combination of the early prescription and later introduced by the Aryans, regarding marriage rituals, the consummation must have taken place only after the fourth night after the wedding.[34] Tolkāppiyam however seems to permit conjugal union, the same night.

Inheritance :

A discussion on the institution of 'Marriage' also leads us to the problem of inheritance. Tolkāppiyam clearly states about inheritance of property from father to son.[35] Inherited property is described as 'Paitiram'[36] which is derived from 'Pitar' meaning father. From references in Padiṟṟuppattu,[37] it is suggested that the matrilineal system of succession was adopted in respect of royal line. Women could not inherit property and therefore widows were supported by their brothers, sons or relatives.

33. *Perumpāṇārṟupaṭai* : 302 - 3.

34. Commentary on *Sūtra* 46 of Tolkāppiyar's *Poruḷathikāram*.

35. *Tolkāppiyam* : *Poruḷathikāram* : 221.

36. *Padiṟṟuppattu* : 19 : 13 and 38 : 3—Also refer M. Srinivasa Iyengar; Tamil Studies (1914).

37. *Ibid* ; Pathikam to Decad IV ; 38.

Disposal of the dead :

How the town-folk disposed of their dead is yet another important feature of social life. The ancient custom of keeping corpses in mud pots,[38] appears to have been superseded by the practice of burying the dead. Cremation too was adopted side by side. The Maṇimēkalai mentions five methods of disposal of the dead[39] "The usage or funerary practices, both of the urn-burials in deep south and megalithic tombs of the North Tamil Nad seems to end with the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D."[40] This is suggestive of the vehicles which brought about the introduction and a very early diffusion of a certain alien impulses into deep south vouching for the lack of any other live local culture, existing there, which could have controlled the area.

Language and Literature :

On the linguistic plane too, the cultural contact must have been brought about in the busy cosmopolitan cities, particularly coastal. "We are being led to think that the earliest development of the Tamil script of which the vatteluthu of the Pāṇdyan records and Grantha of Pallava records were the later manifestations would have happened after or around the first century A.D. at the earliest"[41]..."Considering the early use of Brahmi and the rich literature of the Sangam classics, we are tempted to concede the origin of the Tamil script, whether of the Grantha or Vatteluttu within the Sangam period itself, notwithstanding the present lack of evidence thereto." The early form of the Dravidi script were different from the Nāgari of which the earliest form was called Brāhmi. It was different from the main stock of Brāhmi, as is called almost from the 5th century B.C. This seems to indicate the intercourse that the Tamils had then, which brought many people to their coastal cities and also took them across the seas. The need for an alphabet of their own was apparently felt. It was evolved, though inevitably clumsily in

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38. *Naṟṟiṇai* : 271-11. *Puṟanāṉuṟu* 233.

39. *Maṇimēkalai* : VI 66-7;

40. K. V. Soundararajan—"Determinant factors in the early history of Tamilnad (*Journal of Indian History* Vol. XLV I. Part I - April 1968.)

41. *Ibid*

the initial stages. This helps to establish the significant truth, that even in the pre-christian centuries, there had been some maritime links. It largely kept to the coast. Early contacts of foreign racial strains and cultures with the southern coast could have come mainly in this manner.

Tamil poetry of the early and later ages come under the influence of a convention based on the physiographical characteristics. It is adopted in works like Jīvaka-Chintāmaṇi and even in the Purāṇas written later. These works seem to deliberately adopt the following literary sequence Nāttuppatalam and Nakarappatalam. The basis for this literary convention of much later times is found in the Aintiaṇi verses of the Sangam age as evidenced by Maduraikkānchi and Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaḍai.

The educational standards attained by the Tamils of the period were fairly high. The great Pāṇdyan Āryappatai Kadantha Nedumcheḷiyan was of the opinion that the students [42] should not mind any expense or humiliation, if only they could attain knowledge and scholarship. It was given as an advice that the student should help the teacher [43] whenever necessary and remunerate him properly and be of service to him. Pride had no place in education. In festivals, debates between scholars in literature, philosophy, religion etc., were very common. These were arranged frequently, but certainly during the Indra-Vizha. The Chēra capital had a college for comparative religion (ref: Samayakkaṇakkar Thanthiram Kētta Kāthai–Ch. 27)

The educated one was respected more than any other. In any group of persons, the cultivated man was preferred to the rest. Descriptive pieces about poets of the period and their relation to their patrons are a myriad. However, there was no guarantee that the educated man was prosperous though some poets had become the intimate and respected friends of their kings and patrons.

The learned men of the community were the custodians of learning and literature. They maintained and promoted higher thought. The Tamil kings were lovers and patrons of literature.

42. *Puṟanāṉūṟu*: 183

43. *Kalittokai*: 149 (4.5)

A Pāndya king is reported to have had a "Tamil Sangam" which is said to have existed for thousands of years. This might be an exaggeration, though we may take the fact of the existence of a Sangam as a reality. Members of the Sangam were men either nominated or co-opted by the members themselves. The test of membership has not been mentioned. But the Saṅgam seems to have prepared a set of text-books and grammar books. Even the Ettutokai and anthologies and Pāndikkōvai, and Yāpperunkalam of the later period were specially compiled to illustrate the rules of grammar enunciated by Akattiyam and Tolkāppiyam. The aspirant to the recognition of merit has to pass a test before this Saṅgam.

Fine Arts

The urban areas fostered the arts and no wonder the urban folk provided plenty of opportunities which exhibit the finer tastes they had. Painting, sculpture, architecture and similar arts received attention and patronage at the hands of the early Tamils. Reference in Maduraikkānchi[44] speak of figures of God as well as scenes of nature being painted on walls as well as on canvas. A perusal of works like Paripādal reveal that there existed some treatises on painting. The Tamil word for painting is 'Ovium.'

Murals were clearly done on the surface of white lime-plaster laid over the walls, and paintings were executed on waxed cloth. Such a painted cloth canopy, depicting the twelve rasis of the Zodiac, the Sun and the Moon; the Moon with his ever constant consort Rohini spread above the cot of the Pāndyan king is described in Nedunalvātai.* The palette seems to have been much restricted and the principal colours employed were perhaps only five in number namely red (as the colour of Siva or Murugan) black, (as the colour of Vishnu) white (as that of Baladēva) green and blue and possibly tints derived from them during actual execution. Three kinds of brushes are mentioned, Vattikai, Tukilikai or Turikai and Lōkai (Lekha)[45]

44. *Maduraikkānchi*: 516.518. The colourful pageant of the parallel rows of shops and stalls of Madurai is likened to a painted scene.

* *Nedunelvatai* 159.61

45. *The comprehensive history of India-II* (Orient Longmans)

"Such well-developed art with an advanced technique produced also a treatise on the art of painting called Ōvia-chennūl referred to in the Maṇimēkalai as meant for the use of the danseuse"[46] The Maṇimēkalai, which refers to the Ōvia-ch-chennūl implies that the painter conceives his work in his mind before executing it on canvas.[47] Outlines were drawn before the painting of particular images, landscape, or other scenery.[48]

The Pattinappālai refers to pictures on the walls of the temple at Kāvirippūmpattinam.[49] A picture gallery or a separate hall formed part of a royal palace. Kūlavāṇigan Sīttalaicha-chāttanar's reference to a Pāṇdyan king Chitrammādattu-tunjiya Nanmāran, indicates this.[50] There were pictures on the walls of the temple at Tirupparankunram.[51] Maṇimēkalai refers to numerous paintings on the walls of private houses, in the coastal town of Puhār.[52] Literary references apart, we have no survivals of old paintings of the Tamils. Hence it is difficult to estimate the quality and the artistic excellence of these works of art.

From available resources which are scanty, the early Tamils cannot be said to have advanced in the field of sculpture very far. References to Nadukal or memorial stone abound in the Sangam literature.[53] Like all arts, sculpture was closely bound up with religion and took the form of representing divine shape and forms.[54] This naturally directs our attention to objects of worship mentioned in the early literature of the Tamils. Such a study reveals a steady progress from the simple

46. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: *The arts and crafts of India and Ceylon*—Reprinted 1968
47. *Maṇimēkalai* V : 7 ; II : 31
48. *Netunalvāḍai* : 147 *Maṇimēkalai* : XIV : 131
49. *Pattinappālai* 49-50
50. *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 59 colophon
51. *Paripātal* : 18 : 27-9
52. *Manimēkalai* : III 126.32
53. *Akanāṉūṟu* : 35 : 8 ; 53 ; 11 ; 67 ; 9—*Ainkuṟunūṟu* : 352 : 2 *Pattinappālai* : 79 ; *Silapathikāram* : Padikam 84 ; *Aintiṇai Aimpadu* : 35 : 2
54. Ref. to choosing suitable stone for making a divine image *Padiṟṟupattu* : Padikam 5 : 4

to the complex symbols to images. For instance, Pattinappālai refers to divine flags[55] which were worshipped with flowers. The next stage seems to have been the wooden post (Kandu) which was taken to stand for the deity of the devotees' choice.[56] As said before, there are even more references to the 'nadukal' or hero-stone.[57] They were usually set up to commemorate heroic fighters who fell in battle. The reference cited in Puranānūru roundly affirms that the 'Nadukal' is the only God, worth worshipping with the strewing of paddy before it.

In the field of Fine Arts, it is true that the concept of 'Muttamil,' comprising Iyal, Isai, and Nātakam had attained currency as early as the Sangam period. Adiyārkkunallār, the well known commentator of Silappathikāram, considers that epic as the treasure-house of the three forms of Tamil. That the Tamils were skilled in music right from very early times can be known from references in Puranānūru. The cities of ancient Tamilakam played a notable part in fostering music and other fine-arts. The Pattinappālai makes explicit reference to the people of Kāvirippūmpattinam resorting to the common place of the city in order to witness dances and enjoy music recitals.[58] The environment was in every way congenial for the encouragement of music, dance and acting.

The Tamils had in very ancient times a highly developed indigenous system of vocal and instrumental music (Isai). The Arumpathaurai Āsiriyar says in his commentary on Silappathikāram that Isai is so called because it harmonises the poet's ideas and the actor's expression of them.[59] In the same context, Adiyārkkunallār says that Isai unites melody with poesy and that Paṇ is so called because it is caused by eight sounds issuing out of eight locations in the body. The Tamil word 'Paṇ' means a musical note. From it, we derive Pādu (sing) and Pāttu (song). Music and dancing filled a good part of the spare time of men and women in the urban areas.

55. "Deivam serttiyakodi"

56. *Pattinappālai*: 249—*Tirumurugarruppatai*; 226

57. Ref: F. N. 63

58. *Pattinappālai*: 113

59. Can to III

The Silappathikāram also prescribes the qualifications of a competent musician and says that he must possess a capacity to discern the alien from the indigenous svaras.[60] There is an impressive list of musical instruments of various kinds.

Dancing too was very popular, there being a variety of dances. The Arangērrukkādai of Silappathikāram is a luminous encyclopaedia of the art of dance. The Drama as understood in modern days did not exist. It was a king of dance with a story—background coupled with gesture and music. Tolkāppiyam and other early works refer to Nātakam.[61] It must be admited that the dividing line between Drama and Dance does not clearly seem to have been demarcated.[62] There was only Dance-pattern and no Drama.

The Silappathikāarm records that, Ūrvasi was cursed by sage Agasthya for her inadvertent behaviour towards Jayantha, the son of Indra, and was in consequence, born as a courtesan by name Mādhavi and her paramour born as a reed in the Malaya mountains. The art of 'Koothu' was thus introduced to the Tamils. Mādhavi, one of the heroines of Silappathikāram was a descendent of the first Madhavi, the incarnation of Ūrvasi. The Bharathan (Nātyasastra) tradition informs us that god Brahma invented 'Nātya' and taught it to Baratha muni and his hundred sons, creating 23 apsaras to enable them to entertain the celestials. Brahma himself composed two plays the "Amritha Mathana" and the "Tripura Dahana" in dialogue and action. When the latter was enacted before Lord Siva, that God advised Bhāratha's party to learn from Thandu and Nandikēswara his attendants, the art of dance also and incorporate it in their performances. They did so and enriched the 'Nātya art.'

In a third recorded play "The Lakshmi Swaymvara" Ūrvasi, a newly created Apsaras, in her infatuation for the

60. *Silappathikāram*, III—12.13 and 26.36

61. *Tolkappiyam*: Poruḷathikāram 55 : 1; *Pattinappālai*: 113.5 *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppatai*: 55.6 etc.

62. Seeni Venkataswami: Tamiḷar Vaḷartha Aḻagukkalaikaḷ (Tamil 1967)

mortal king Purūravas bungled her role as Lakshmi, and was in consequence cursed by Bharatha and Indra to go down to the earth to be with her paramour for a prescribed period. The art of dance was thus brought to the world of men by Ūrvasi herself. But, as it was misused by her colleagues, including Purūravas to vilify and satirise the sages and other holy personalities, Brāhma banned the art itself and cursed the actors and actresses to sūdrahood. Ūrvasi too was recalled to heaven while Purūravas was assassinated by his courtiers.

Adiyārku-nallār (12th century A.D.) the learned commentator of Silappathikāram, informs us of the disappearance even in his time, of several valuable works in Tamil among which were "Akathiyam" and "Baratham." Persumably, therefore the author of the epic must have got his tradition about Mādhavi, Jayantha and Agasthya from the "Akathiyam."

The existence of several schools of acting in ancient India is referred to by Pāṇini (5th century B.C.) when explaining the etymology of the words "Sailālinah" and "Krisaṣvinah." As Agasthya was a direct disciple of God Śiva himself, according to Tamil tradition, the art of dance as learnt by him and expounded to his 12 disciples, might have differed to some extent, from that learnt by Bharatha's sons indirectly from Tandu and Nandikeśwara. Though the source of the art was Śiva or Iṟayanār, its later developments were inevitably independent and indigenous to the respective Sanskrit and Tamil cultures. Hence, the variant traditions. That was perhaps why Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the great linguist and historian of Indian culture is said to have remarked elsewhere that "Fourteen annas in the rupee of Indian culture" is non-Aryan.

Iḷango Adigal refers to the sage of the Pothiyil Hills, but never even mentions the name of Bharatha-muni even though his Arangēṟṟukkāthai, leads us to suppose that he must have been familiar with the subject matter of Bharatha's Nātyasāstra. And, he makes Mādhavi dance some of the minor dramatic forms coming under the category of 'Nritya' without using either that word or 'Nātya' but introducing instead the ambiguous term Nātaka. Even among the eleven Ādals, rendered by his danseuse heroine Mādhavi, many are foreign to the

Nātyasāstra. While Bharatha's treatise refers but casually to the existence of eighteen minor dramatic forms (Uparūpakas). Madhavi's eleven ādals seem to have attracted people from far and near and such opportunities were eagerly awaited for.

Aḍiyārkkunallār, the commentator of the Tamil epic "Silappathikāram" refers to "Thōl-pavai" (Leather Puppets). Perhaps the term connotes the art of the shadow play. Since the commentator lived at a very late period (12th century) and quoted from a prior source, it may be presumed that the art must have existed in Tamilakam long before his days. How long? is an important question,[63] that remains to be answered.

Religion

In the field of religion, as far as our knowledge goes, among the early Tamils, both animism and naturism seem to have existed side by side. In respect or the importance attached to particular deities, there seems to have occured changes from time to time. Temples were erected and the modes of worship of the urban population too, appear to be quite different from those of the rural population. In respect of worship, the rural population folk adored Muruga as the "Governor of all the seven worlds."[64] An elaborate veriyādal,[65] varieties of Kuravai dances figure prominently in the rural belt. The Kuravar and Kānavar, men and women, participated in the Kuravai dances, which were staged under the vēnkai tree.[66]

In the urban areas, temples were located to shelter the particular deity. From evidences in Silappathikāram, one can see the contrast from the rural belt. 'Indra' assumes a supreme position, while Muruga, Śiva and Māyan (an aspect of Vishṇu) continue to be prominent.

Kings and chieftains were interested in erecting temples. The location of the temples in some of the cities claim our

63. V. Ramasubramanian (Aundy)-"Mutual impacts of Indian and other oriental theatres"—(The Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures—July-December 1970).

64. *Eḻulakum Āli* : Paripātal 8 : 64

65. *Ainkuṟunūṟu* : 182 : 16-7 *Silappathikāram* : XXIV : 6

66. Ibid : XXIV : 45-46

attention. At Kāvirippūmpattinam in the centre of the area set apart for the market and where the main streets intersected, there was a temple dedicated to the guardian deity of the city.

The original name of Puhār is said to be Champāpathi. The name was given to it because of its presiding deity, "Jampāpathi." Just as "Bhārathamatha," the outlook must have been national. 'Jampāpathi' was worshipped as a deity, a factor illustrating the pan-Indian out-look of the early Tamils. That was before a canal from Kavēra-Lake was dug out to flow into the Bay of Bengal through the city. Later on, it was named as 'Kavērippūmpattinam.' If Kāveri is later in origin what about the other streams which must have existed earlier? Evidently, they must have flown through the town. With the addition of Kāveri, it became big.

Of the two deities in Puhār, the original one namely Champāpathy, was feminine. But there was another deity called "Chathukka-būtham." It was a semi-divine being who helped one Muchukundachōla[67] to overcome the demons.

At the market place, where the temple stood, there was a pleasant square with a tree and shrine. The temple stood just in the centre of the city which was ten miles by ten miles; that is the limits of the town either way was ten miles from this central temple. The town plan has been such that this temple occupied a place in the centre of the town taken as a whole.[68]

Of the archaeological excavations conducted in Kodungallūr in February-March 1970, the most important feature that is bound to attract scholars is the peculiar layout of the fort and the temple. A characteristic feature of the layout is that the temple

67. The story of Muchukunda is found in Bhāgavatham, Vishṇupurāṇam, Skāndam and others, each of which give a different version. But Maṇimēkalai tells us that the deity helped Muchukundar in overcoming demons for which it was given a place of worship in Puhār. It is also stated that it will punish rulers who fail to celebarate Indra-Vizha apart from wrong doers. Recent excavations have brought an image of this god (demi) housed in an ancient shrine-Kudavayi-ṟṟu-kurunthāt Butha-Kumbōdhara, Hrusvapādha: Persumably this must have been a deified spirit of a dead warrior (hero stone).

68. *Silappathikāram*: Ch. VI. 133-34

stands right in the middle of where the eastern wall should be. If there had been a gate here, the temple would have been exactly at the gate. The name, the layout and the cultural character of the temple unearthed at Thirukkanamathilakam and the description of Kunavāyirkōttam of Silappathikāram appear to be analogous.[69]

As was said earlier, with the urban folk, the mode of worship as well as the conduct of festivals seem to differ considerably from those of the rural folk. The God Indra, figures largely in Silappathikāram and some of the Kiḻkoṇakku works.[70] A poem in the Puṟanāṉūṟu speaks of Him as the Lord of Heaven, with his axe (Vajram) as a mighty weapon.[71] There was a temple in Puhār enshrining Indra's weapon.[72] Where exactly the temple was located is not however mentioned. Indra was believed to have thousand eyes. The festival in honour of Indra was celebrated with great pomp at Puhar, the Chōḻa King himself taking an active part in it.[73] The festival lasted for twenty eight days, commencing from the full moon day of the month of Chittirai. Vast merriment and splendour are associated with the festival. The festival of Indra was known earlier too, but it was not celebrated so pompously as in the coastal town of Puhar. Therefore the festival warrants some consideration here.

Art critics and archaeologists are of the opinion that the worship of symbols preceded that worship of images.[74] Even in Puhar and Maṇipallavam, in the Buddhistic temples, they worshipped His Peeta and not His image. In many of the earlier stupas of Sāñchi, Bārhut and Amarāvathi, some of the early representations of Buddha-worship consisted of either the Bōdhi tree, or Trirathana or the Peetam. In the early stages of worship in India, it was the symbol—it may be a Peeta,

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69. Ref : V. T. Induchudan-Archaelogical excavations in Kodungallur —A general impression — *Journal of Indian History* - Vol. XLVIII Part I

70. Indra : *Paripātal* : 5 : 58-60; 9 : 2.4; 19 : 50-52; 2 : 96-97 *Kalittokai* : 105 : 15

71. *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 241 : 3

72. *Silappathikāram* IX : 12

73. Ibid : V

74. ref : F. N. 71

a Lotus, a Linga or Tree. Similarly we find Indra's symbol worshipped. This reference goes to prove that some of the portions of Silappathikāram were not of a later epoch, even though the core cannot be considered of earlier origin on this account.

It was said that the festival lasted for twenty-eight days, commencing from the full moon day of the month of Chittirai. Adiyārkkunallār himself has pointed out the differences between Maṇimēkalai and Silappathikāram in respect of the date of the Indra festival. The Silappathikāram mentions[75] that the Indra festival in Puhār began a couple of days after the full moon day in the month of Panguni, which was the 'Holy festival' of Manmatha in North India. In chapter IX, the same epic mentions "Chittirai, Chittirai Tingal,' i.e. the same epic mentions "Chittirai as the last day which day ends with a picnic at the beach. But the Manimēkalai opens with the regretful abstention of Mādhavi and Maṇimēkalai from participation in the Indra festival which had already begun and progressed for over twenty days. When the Goddess, Maṇimēkalai had given an air lift to the heroine Maṇimēkalai to the island of Maṇipallavam, the latter sees after a few days' of stay there the magic bowl (Amudha Surabi) emerging out of a holy pool on the day of Vaikāsi Vaisākam, sacred to Lord Buddha. How can the Indra festival end in the new moon day of Vaikasi, if it did not begin at least two days after "Chittirai, Chittirai Tingal?" This anomaly was first noticed by Adiyarkkunallar who seems to endorse the Maṇimēkalai version. Nevertheless, he promises to explain away this anomaly in his commentary on chapter 23, Katturaikkāthai. But unfortunately, that commentary is lost to us.

Another important point to be noticed with the celebration of this festival is, neither the Pāndya nor the Chēra nor any of minor chieftains of Tamil Nadu seem to have celebrated this festival in their Kingdoms, even though the failure to do so by the Chōla was supposed to bring in the destruction of his capital. This leads us to surmise that the Chola being the Lord of the eastern Tamilland, had perhaps to propitiate Indra, the "Lord

75. Ch. VI : Ll 1.4

of the East" A similar obligation must have prompted the Pāṇdya who was the Lord of the southern part of Tamilnādu (Tennavan) to style himself as "Māṛan" (Yama—the lord of the South). And again, the Chēra of the Western part of Tamilnādu, must have propitiated Varuṇa, the Lord of the West by adopting as his flag symbol of Varuṇa.

References to Indra Vizha festival in North-Indian Sanskrit Literature are numerous. The Purāṇas and the Mahabhāratha tell us that it was the great king. Upari-Chara-Vasu who instituted the Indra-day a festival. Many of the Chieftains of the Eastern region followed him in celebrating it. The Nātya-sāstra also mentions the necessity for propitiating Indra's banner, before beginning stage a production as a part of the Pūrvanga. The Sanskrit work "Kaumudhi Mahōtsava" attributed to the fourth or fifth century after Christ refers to the celebration of the Indradvaja festival. Silappathikāram itself mentions the propitiation of "Talaikkōl" which was the symbol of Indras' son Jayantha.

Another deity which does not figure in other Sangam works is Kāman.[76] His name is popular in the coastal town of Puhār. The emblem of Kāman's flag is the fish while the sugar-cane plant is considered to be his bow. Two important festivals were held in honour of Kāman, one in the spring and another in the summer.[77] Kāman is supposed to dance the 'Pedi Ādal' in feminine attire.[78] A temple known as Kāmavilkkōttam existed somewhere at Kaverippumpattinam.[79] In the Purānic world, and common belief "Kāman" is the god of Cupid. This Kāman is also referred to as Kāmanar and "Sāmanukku mūtta Kāmanār"[80]—the Kāmanār who is elder to Sāmanār.

Whereas, regional deities, is the common rule in the rural belts, cities like Madurai and Kaverippumpattinam witnessed a notable measure of cosmopolitanism within the Tamil folk.

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76. Kaman : *Paripādal* 3 : 31.32 ; *Kalittokai* 26.3 ; 140-8
77. *Kalittokai* : 27 and 92
78. *Silappathikāram* : VI : 56-7
79. Ibid : IX : 60
80. *Marudakkali* : V. 29

Innumerable Gods are worshipped. People adore these Gods in the fear that neglect will make them victims of the God's wrath. The distresed Mālathi worships many Gods and it is an impressive list of cosmopolitan Gods.[81] Temples, housing deities begin to appear. Festivals in their honour had become very popular.

In important towns lived Buddhists and Jains.[82] Their spiritual strongholds were known as Samanappaḷḷi or Amanappaḷḷi. These appear to have been invariably located outside the city-limits.[83] It must be admitted that from the beginning, the Jains as well as the Buddhists influenced the beliefs and practices of the Tamils. The opening chapter of Maṇimēkalai has a reference to various Buddhist practices to propagate religion.[84] Buddhism, seems to have been particularly popular in the Western region, now known as Kerala.[85] The outskirts of Trivandrum and places near about, contain several Buddhist relics even to-day. It is difficult to ascertain the exact dates of these relics.

The picture of the religious life that is presented indeed bears eloquent testimony to toleration and the prevalence of many cults.

Economy :

The economy of the Tamil country was generally satisfactory. The coastal towns played a significant part as emporiums of trade. As inland and foreign trade were flourishing, the mechanical professions were fairly advanced. Coinage was known and

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81. *Silappathikāram* : ch. V : L 9-14
82. *Maṇimēkalai* – XXIV : 47
Silappathikāram : X : 163; 182; XI : 7
Maduraikkānchi : 476
83. A Jain temple called Srikandanppalli (Nikkandakkottam) is mentioned in Silappathikāram (IX : 13)
84. Similar practices are enumerated by Kautilya, in Arthaśāstra (Book 13) as means of striking the imagination of the enemies. Certain sculptural figures like Kandiṛpavar are such evangelical instruments.
85. Ref : V. Nagam Aiya: The Travancore State Manual-Vol. II Pp. 224-6

mention is made of gold coins.[86] They knew iron,[87] copper and silver[88] as metals. 'Pon' was used to indicate not only the metal (gold) but also a kind of coin. Their currency must have been largely used in foreign trade. They appear to have been aquainted with Roman gold coins of the days of Augustus and Tiberius, which have been unearthed in many of the Southern districts.

In this context, mention has to be made of Arikamēdu,[89] which represents the site of a buried town on the Coromandel coast. As R. E. M. Wheeler puts it "as the first of the stations actually identified by excavation in India, Arikāmedu holds a distinguished position in the history of the economic relations of India, with the outside world."

An elephant running amuck is compared to a storm-tossed ship, and there are other references to shiprwrecks in storms.[90] Salt, dried fish and processed tamarind were conveyed in boats, evidently a reference to the coastal trade of the country. Foreign ships came laden with horses in the company of merchants who were eager to take the priceless products of Tamil country in exchange for them. Saliyūr was an important port on the Madurai coast, often visited by great ships. Nīrpeyaṟṟu, probably, somewhere near Mamallapuram was another sea-port to which were brought horses from the West and other products from the North. This was in the territory of Tondaimān Iḷam Tirayan.[91] Near the port was a tall light house in which the bright lamp burnt all night. Access to the lamp was by means of a steep ladder, not easy to climb.[92]

In between Saliyūr and Nīrpeyaṟṟu lay the still larger emporium of Puhār; the 'Khabēris' of Ptolemy which is

86. *Puṟanānūṟu* : 353

87. Ibid 170

88. Ibid : 14, 15, 152 etc.

89. Ancient India No. 2 July 1946 P. 17-125 . A Bulletin of Archaeological Survey.

90. *Maduraikkānchi* : 377-9 ; *Puṟanānūṟu* 238, 368

91. *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppatai* : 319-321

92. Ibid : 346-51

described at great length in Pattinappalai.[93] Large boats had carried white salt and returned laden with paddy in exchange and when lying in the harbour they resembled a row of horses tethered in a garden. 'Musiri' was another leading emporium. Bandar and Kodumanam were other ports with a wealth of sea-borne imports. We also find allusions to artisans skilled in the repair and refitting of ships called here "Perunkadal Nīndiya Maram" or "the timber that swam the great ocean."

The references to the Yavanas, are notable doubtless, to Greeks. Roman merchants, sailors and others. A Swan-shaped lamp shone at the mast head of their ships.[94] Other ornamental lamps, of Yavana manufacture held by finely wrought female figures wearing ornaments[95] are also mentioned. The foreign wines imported in bottles of Yavana make were served to kings in golden goblets by bright looking young women.[96]

A study of the urban phase of the early Tamils shows a varied picture. On the one hand there was an un-conventional simplicity and forthrightness in every day life. There was harmony and general contentment coupled with a great literary activity. As Toynbee, in his "A study of History" observes "Civilisation emerges as the triumph of man over his environment under the leadership of an enlightened, gifted and inspired minority." After a thorough analysis he perhaps justifiably concludes "neither race nor environment forms the chief factor of growth, but the creative power of particular groups which influenced others."

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93. *Pattinappālai* Lines 78.83; 97.100. The description of Puhār and its foreshore takes up much of *Pattinappalai.*

94. *Puranānūru* : 56.Ll 18.20

95. Yavana cachets: *Yavanappāni, Yavanamanjikai, Souakachchidukku.*

96. *Puranānūru* : 56

METROPOLITAN MADRAS, TRADITION AND CULTURAL CHANGES

BY

N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR, B.A.,

A scientific study of the development of the Metropolis of Madras, the sociological factors influencing it and the future trends is not a day too soon. American sociologists and economists are now deeply concerned over the problem of urban explosion which threatens to disturb the pattern of culture and social behaviour in American cities leading to crimes and other social evils. Madras is truly a metropolitan city because it is not only the chief city of South India but also it is sometimes described as an intellectual model for the whole of the country. As a native of this great city and alumnus of its distinguished University I am glad to have this opportunity to draw attention to the fact that this prominent position should not be jeopardised. It is the function of sociologists to point out the factors that might go wrong if the citizens and the Government do not pay attention to it and to scientifically interpret the consequences of the interacting social, economic and human factors, leave alone the political which is ubiquitous and is not the main concern of the sociologist.

In this paper I want to endeavour, how imperfectly it may be, to trace the changing pattern of its culture, taking culture in the broad sense of its fundamental values. I want to go back in history to the very earliest times, in order to make a more perceptive judgment of the present and, a fair prognostication of the future. The lady poet of Tamil Nādu, Avvaiyār, who is regarded as a contemporary of Tiruvalluvar and of Cheraman Perumal Nāyanār of Chéra country sang of Tondainādu of which Madras and its environs are a part, as noted for its goodmen (sānrōr). This is probably no exaggeration because Tondainadu was

at no time directly under a strong central government, except perhaps in the period of Pallavas of Kanchi and it was never the capital of any kingdom. So the Madras hegemony was a sort of free society, which governed itself by the simplest and best of human laws. This is testified to by the spirit of *Tirukkural* of Tiruvalluvar who was believed to have lived in Mylāpore. (Some date him as 1st century B C. and a few as late as 4th century A.D.) Again and again, Tiruvalluvar lays emphasis on Sānrōnmai (the virtue of being good) in prince or plebian. One yard stick to gauge the development and growth of our Metropolis is the tenability of this characteristic.

Even modern sociologists say, that that society is the best whose culture is pastoral and which depends on agriculture whose keynotes are humble self-sufficiency and non-multiplication of wants. Madras though coastal (called 'Neithal' in Tamil Grammar) is of course agricultural, but not of the fertility, say, of the Cauvery delta. We find a true picture of the cultural life of Mylapore in the hymns of St. Sambandar (Saivaite) and of St. Tirumangai Ālvar (Vaishnavaite) (7th-8th century). We also get glimpses of the surrounding country in Sekkilār's *Periyapuranam*. Sekkilār belonged to a Vellala family of Kunrathūr, nine miles south of the present Madras City and who later became the distinguished Minister of the Chōla King, Kullōttunga Chōla (12th century A. D.). Being on the northern frontier of the Tamil country with Tiruvéngadam as its northern boundary, it maintained its cultural individuality, but yet absorbing all the winds that blew to become truly cosmopolitan. The later Chōlas who extended their domain as far as the Circars did not disrupt the friendly ties on the culture of the neighbouring tracts in Tondainādu and the northern Telugu area.

Madras did not get entangled in the political exploits of the Pallavas or later Tamil Kings. Mylapore and Tiruvottriyur are described as prosperous towns by the Tévāram singers and midway there is Tiruvallikéni sung by Tirumangai Ālvar but it was described only as a neighbourhood of Mylāpore. The people of the area were mainly agriculturists who had to work hard for a living. In fact it is said that it was Āthondai Chakravarthy who later brought agriculturists

from the Tulu country to develop agriculture in the Tondainādu. During the Pallava period the people had an opportunity to develop their artistic propensities in stone sculptures and building royal cities (as in Māmallapuram and Kānchpīuram). It was during the Muslim period that there was a striking change in the occupations of the people. During the Carnatic wars, which were more sophisticated with guns and cannons, many had joined the military profession. These were mainly the Vanniyas who regard themselves as Kshatriyas but who in peace time were preponderantly agricultural labourers. The Muslims were great patrons of arts and lovers of fine and gaudy clothing. Textile industry particularly received a great fillip and most of the Muslim converts called Labbais also engaged themselves in weaving. The upper classes possibly imitated the Muslim rulers in the matter of fine food and clothes and, having a retinue of servants. The ridicule of 'Mudaliyār *jambam*' had its genesis probably in those times. On other notable product of the Muslim era, is the development of administrative institutions. It will be seen that most of the administrative terms and practices are of the Moghul times. Apparently the building industry also improved as witnessed by the innumerable mosques and mausoleums and palaces. It was also a time of unsettlement, due to frequent wars and skirmishes. Muslims were regarded as good friends man to man and, trustworthy as servants or masters. Normally, there was amity between the people of different religions and in this Madras set a very noble example to other cities. For example, even today panjās are immersed in the tank of the great Hindu temple at Mylapore on the last day of Mohurrum. In Tiruvateeswaranpet panjas are installed in the temple mantapam.

The next phase in the cultural impact on Madras is the coming of the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French and the English East India Company. It will not be necessary or possible in a brief space to recount the incidents of history relating to them, but suffice it to say, that this was a crucial period for advancement is one respect and bad influence in another. The early exploits of the servants of the East India Company both in private morals and in public rectitude in trade, did not altogether have a good influence till the assumption of the

sovereignty by the British Crown. Madras described by histriographers as a fishing village, however developed into a town and there was increased prosperity for the people. Some industries like weaving and dyeing developed and people also became familiarised to the imposition of new taxes, equitable or not. The advent of early Christian missionaries and their unthinking Evangelism, evoked religious consciousness and Madras did not fall so easy a prey to it as some other Southern towns like Pālayamkōttai or Madurai. But among the Hindu residents themselves, there were intense caste rivalries (like Left Hand) castes and Right Hand castes called *Idangai* and *Valangai Jatis* so that, early English rulers had to act as arbitrators in their disputes. The most beneficient impact on the culture of the metropolis was the introduction of English education. During the Company days, many from the old families promoted trade on their own behalf and as 'Dubāshes' of the European traders. They amassed wealth and gained considerable influence. They rode about in palanquins and spent their wealth on charities like choultries and schools and on building temples in every street. Many of the old families are known even today ; but the descendants are not so prosperous or distinguished, except in some cases. The old families were noblemen to the core and treated their poor relations and servants with generosity and not with impudent patronage. There were mostly Mudaliārs and Balijās and Yādhavas. Among Balijās, some attained distinction in the military. By and large, middle class families took to English education very readily, but did not go above the Middle school level, as nothing more was needed for ordinary jobs. Most of them were employed as clerks and as teachers. Tamil learning and traditional Tamil and Sanskrit pandits had to languish, as pial schools slowly gave way to mission and government schools. This has however nothing to do with the creditable contribution of European Indologists to the promotion of Tamil and Sanskrit. The introduction of the printing press gave considerable opportunity to native scholars to edit and print books particularly in the vernaculars. Many rare works were published during this period in Madras.

The early English professors and teachers, whether in Government or mission schools, exercised a profound influence of discipline and character on the young men and reciprocally

these teachers found Madrassi students most acceptable, as they were long trained in cosmopolitanism and not brought up in isolationism. Many were shining lights of philanthropy like Pachaiyappa Mudaliār, Rāja Sir Rāmaswāmi Mudaliār etc. When the University and professional courses like Law were set up, there was a notable exodus of families from districts like Tanjāvur, to get the benefit of the higher education, while the native Madrassi was content with education upto the Matriculation standard. The British administration found the Indian public servants useful and dependable and as administration in those days was centralised they were able to rule well with this staff from Fort St. George.

Many men from Madras rose to responsible positions in public life and maintained a high reputation for integrity and efficiency. Many became contractors. Many proved able administrators, as Deputy Collectors etc. and went far south and north. (My grandfather had a distinguished career as Deputy Collector in Tanjāvur, Coimbatore, Bellāry etc. districts in the late eighties. In the professions, particularly Law, the Madrassi did not find much relish, although it was becoming more and more lucrative.

It was during the post Minto - Morley Reforms days, that Madras became the focus for all the divergent rays from Ganjam to Tirunelveli to converge, because Madras was the political Mecca as ever it is today. The quickening political life and the Constitution of a Legislative Council, gave a political training to the people in which the residents of Madras, who were all the time in touch with the ruling Englishmen and imbibed liberal political traditions, played no inconsiderable part. Almost all representatives of the City in the Legislature were persons of character and ability. The development of the Madras University and the example of its eminent Vice-chancellors and the great colleges like Presidency, Pachayappās and Christian gave an intellectual tone to life in Madras, which made the in habitants refined and courteous. It was a pride in those days to call one-self as a student of Dr. Miller, or Dr. Allen, Dr. Middlemast, Dr. Rollo etc. Many polymaths like Prof. Poondi Ranganātha Mudaliār and Prof. Rangācharya later became household names

for intellectual eminence. But politically Madras was moderate unlike other cites like Calcutta. For this reason it was often dubbed as 'benighted'. It is for sociologists to analyse the reasons for this which continues to be a distinctive feature even today.

The next land mark was the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the Home Rule Movement and what is called the Non-brahmin movement. Madras contributed many nationalists like Salem Rāmaswāmy Mudaliār, Rangiah Nāidu, the founder of the Mahājana Sabhā etc., but still the number were few. Could it be said that the spirit of nationalism did not stir them up? The culture of Madras was the product of realism and moderation and one example of them in later days is Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sāstri who lived the best part of his life in Madras city. But a stronger political sentiment was political justice. This movement was spear-headed by Sir P. T. Theagarāya Chetty and Dr. T. M. Nāir. They did not confuse social justice with socialism or patriotism with extremism. The successful working of Dyarchy in Madras was not a little due to these factors. Sir P. T. Chetty was a symbol of political virtue and purity as white as his dress, because he did not crave for offices for himself. The Legislature consisted of a galaxy of eminent men from all walks of life, vakils, landholders, Rājās and others. The common man was doubtless left behind, but he was not ignored or despised. This lack of mass-contact and the rise of the vigorous nationalist movement, however, brought about the downfall of the Justice Party. The non-brahmin manifesto would be deemed typical of the Madras Metropolitan political and social instincts. A conservative mentality, which does not care for quick gains, might be called retrograde and even reactionary. But a contempt of utilitarianism, they say, is a mark of culture. Culture does not certainly lead to power. Till recently, even trade and business did not. So it is, that we found in Madras only small scale businessmen among the natives and affluence is moderate, unlike in other big cities like Bombay or Calcutta. Most of the big businessmen are from the North.

This was also the period when journalism in Madras, became powerful (both national and Anglo-Indian dailies) but they were

not of the firebrand variety. Most of them were moderate in tone, reflecting the conservatism of Madras and its level-headedness. Wordy duels never inflamed sections of the public, nor the public, against the foreign government.

The development of the Madras Harbour and the extension of the railways, increased commerce and so the mercantile community made its own contribution to the character of the metropolis. Of particular importance, is the influx of Mārwāris mostly as money-lenders and bullion merchants who settled in Sowcārpet. Also, there were some Gujarati Brahmins who entered learned professions. To keep up show (unlike the rustics in the mofussil) the citizen of the metroplois would borrow in private beyond means and court ruin, Madras women set the fashion in jewellery and clothes and, marriages in Madras were showy and expensive, in spite of the fact that unlike in villages, the whole village will not turn up for the hospitality of food in a mirāsdar's house marriage. Stylish food and highly paid kutchēris were a rule, even in the marriage of moderate households in Madras. Of course all these are refinements but at a price. The social attitudes are governed, not by economics but by environmental factors.

The elite were strongly wedded to constitutional forms of political agitation and had an aptitude for working representative institutions. They took a deep interest in Municipal affairs of the Corporation and many distinguished persons served as councillors and contributed to the good administration of the City. The names of the City Fathers will be found to be a galaxy of celebrated names. Many of them were connected with educational and charitable institutions. The services of Dr. C. Natésa Mudaliār for example, are a shining example of devoted services to the city he lived in. Most of the councillors were old residents and newcomers without a record of work, could not hope to capture votes in elections by mere canvassings. Elections to both the Municipality and the Legislature were absolutely free from corruption and the contestants spent money for them from their own pockets and many became poor on that account. No one who held elected office, entered it with the mental reservations of making money on the sly. When such was the rectitude of elected representatives, paid officials

respected them and were kept on the straight path of rectitude. When Gandhiji called for a boycott of schools in the earlier Non-Cooperation movement, it was strongly disapproved by leading men as a wrong step leading to indiscipline among youth. The same attitude was manifest when Gandhiji started the Civil Disobedience movement and the 'Quit India' campaign. The upper crust did not participate in these movements but they did not deter others' freedom to do what they liked. Political freedom and discipline was thus the highest.

The character of the City had much changed since Independence and it is this period which requires intelligent analysis. The partition of Pakistan did not affect the relations of Muslims and non-Muslims in the metropolis and few Muslims left it to go over for careers in Pakistan. There was a flow into the City of displaced persons from Pakistan, particularly Sindhis and, Punjabis. The inflow of the former was the largest and the flow of the latter in driblets is still continuing. These refugees have apparently found Madras more hospitable. The immediate impact of these refugees who are mostly textile merchants and auto-spare parts dealers and electricians was the competition for shop space, for locating their business. With the subsidies they received from the Government of India as displaced persons, these refugees were able to pay more for shops and thus the resident small dealers were pushed out. This was also accentuated by the small merchants who had evacuated Burma and Ceylon and come to Madras. These were mostly Tamil Muslims dealing in fancy wares and they mostly belonged to Ramanathapuram district. Residential accommodation in posh localities also became scarce by the proliferation of public offices and business firms. The continuous drought for three years in 1950 also drove to the City many agricultural labourers from outside in the hope of finding work in Madras City. It was an emigration of both despair and hope. Even after the separation of Kerala and Andhra into separate States many, permanently resident Keralites and Andhras in the City, retained their homes here. When the Andhra Government made a bid to claim Madras City as theirs, a valiant and successful fight was put up by veteran Madras residents like Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and others.

The overwhelming success of the Congress Party and the establishment of a popular ministry under Independence resulted in streams of party men coming into the City for making direct representation to the Ministers on many local and individual problems. This was the case when the Andhras and persons from far South were Chief Ministers. The small traders of the Nadar community came and settled in very large numbers in the City. This vastly increased the floating population of Madras. During the ration days Madras residents got only rotten rice and were faced with a steep rise in prices of all commodities. A spirit of tolerance and adjustability helped to absorb all these shocks to the economic life and social stability of the metropolis. Outsiders captured the trade in foodgrains and pulses, firewood, brass and iron vessels, aluminium, eversilver wares etc. The ways of commercial dealing of these merchants were somewhat different from those of the old Chettiars. With the elaboration of controls and licences, big business in hardwares, chemicals, manufactured goods was more and more concentrated in the hands of North Indians and those who had pull with the Party in power. There was little protest from native merchants of the metropolis. The representatives of the Madras City and suburbs did not specially champion the cause of these merchants. The establishment of factories in and around Madras has however provided some job opportunities to the youth of the metropolis as skilled and unskilled labour but the top posts went by favour of the managing directorates. Even in the slums and fishing villages one could hear speech in a dialect different from that of the usual Madras dialect, due to population changes. The cultural level of the metropolis on the whole has been falling low.

The growth of the metropolis has no doubt created many social problems like housing congestion etc., but it should not destroy the finer traits of life in this great City. There is still a strong base for it and visitors from other parts of India or abroad are not slow to see it and comment on it. But the culture patten is not homogenous with same tokens of courtesy and good behaviour at all levels or in all sectors. The pattern is diversified and it is losing its dominant characteristics. Metropolitan Madras is still staid and steady, conservative without being reactionary, self sacrificing, tolerant and trying hard to preserve the best in its long tradition.

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One word more. Madras is more religious than even many pilgrim centres. Temple services in big and small temples everywhere, are well attended not by men who bargain with God making fabulous offerings, but by people of simple and unostentatious faith. Sri Ramalinga Swamigal called this city '*deiva migu Chennai*'—i.e. Madras surpassing in Godliness. It is no exaggeration. Cleanliness is next go Godliness but this is not well attended to today in Madras. Public places are fouled and kept untidy. Civic administration is not under any watchdog. Madras will soon become a big slum unless the old citizens raise a revolt in time and save their dear City.

Metropolitan people do not give way to panic and scare. The shelling by 'Emden' in I World War and the threat of Japanese bombing in the II World War, did not scare the people much and business as usual was the rule till Government ordered evacuation. Some even braved it and stayed in the City. This courage is a trait of men who are loyal to their metropolis.

The cultural and social changes have not much altered the City's tradition as a staid and sober city with a sophisticated leaning on culture. But nothing can be prophesied about the future. The economic and social impacts are sometimes traumatic. But the seeds of a cultured city will not be completely rendered sterile. Its distinctive social and cultural traits should be preserved to the extent possible as it sets the pattern for the rest of the State. This cannot be all automatic process, unless the social consciousness of all those who live and work in a great city, is kept alive and they make their contribution to it. Unless the amenities of life in the metropolis are tolerably good and of a fair standard, life will be vulgarised. Social evils like drunkenness and prostitution should be curbed by public opinion even more than by police vigilance and, above all public behaviour in public places must be kept refined.

The traits of a tradition of a great metropolis always stand in the danger of being blurred in a period—not of transition but one of inevitable cross currents. It is the function of the sociologist who values both tradition and growth and modernity to scientifically observe and inform the community and its leaders.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE TAMILS TO WORLD CULTURE

BY

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The Tamils are the indigenous people of South India. Some scholars hold that they have immigrated from Central Asia and they had entered into India through North-western ghats. But the ethnological, historical, geological and geographical researches by eminent scholars have proved that the Tamils are aboriginals of South India.[1] In the primitive age, to the south of Cape Comerin, there was a vast stretch of land, called 'Kumari Kantam' or Lemuria which according to scholars had extended from Madagascar in the west to the Malay Archipelgo in the east connecting Southern India with Africa on one side and Australia on the other. This stretch is believed to be the cradle of human race and also the native soil of the primitive Tamils. As the ages passed, the 'Kumari kantam' was submerged into sea, as a result of many deluges.[2] Consequently, the southern most boundary of Tamilakam has come to be known as 'Kumari Munai.'

Since the Tamils are the indigenous people existing from time immemorial in Tamilakam or South India, we may say, that their culture also, has grown with them and attained a high degree of perfection.

II

Before the migration of Aryans to India there were Dravidians or Tamils all over India. This is evident from the fact

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1. M. Sreenivasa Iyengar: *The Tamil Studies*: p. 21
2. Dr. Somasundara Bharathiar: *The Papers of Dr. Navalar Somasundara Bharathiyar*: p. 95.

that there are even to-day a number north Indian languages belonging to the Dravidian family. Brahui language spoken is West Pakistan, Malto in Rājmahal and Madhya Pradesh, Kuruk and Oaron in Chotta Nāgpur, Parji in Madhya Pradesh are the Dravidian family of languages.

III

In the ancient past, the land inhabited by the Tamils was divided into four regions. They are mountanious region, the pastoral region, the coastal region and the fertile region surrounded by fields. The fertile region of fields was generally situated adjacent to rivers. Hunting and cultivation of the millets were the chief occupations of the people of the mountainous region. The occupations of the people of the pastoral region were pasturing the cows and selling milk.

Fishing was the chief occupation of the people of the region adjacent to the sea. The people of the regions of fields, had agriculture as their occupation. Whenever monsoon failed, the mountainous region and the pastoral region would become completely dry and they turned as arid tracts or 'pālai.' During that period, people in those regions would earn their livelihood by waylaying the wayfarers. Each region had its own God, music and musical instruments etc. The customs and manners of the people of each region, which formed a basis for their culture and civilization, depended on its environment.

The region of fields had the benefit of everlasting fertility as it was situated adjacent to rivers. Consequently, besides the occupation of agriculture, several trades and industries flourished in the region. In due course these fertile regions of fields, developed themselves into great cities and become seats of civilization.

We may classify civilization into two, as external or material and internal or moral and spiritual. Sophistication in food, dress, place of residence etc., may be called as material civilization. High moral conduct, development of heart, mind and spirit etc., would come under the civilization of spiritual nature.

The ancient Tamils were highly civilized in both material and spiritual aspects. That the ancient Tamils were experts in the preparations of several kinds of delicacies is evidenced in a number of poems in *Purananūru.*

The *Purananūru* poem No. 215 refers to a shepherdess preparing a kind of food called *pulinkul.* She puts *vélai* flowers in curd and cooks the food.[3]

Another *Purananūru* poem mentions about the delicious food enjoyed by '*panars.*' The '*varaku*' rice is cooked in milk. They eat the rice mixing it with the honey. Along with the rice they eat the cooked meat of the hare.[4] They enjoy taking delicious drinks prepared with milk and sugar.[5]

These instances speak for the high standard of dainties tasted by the ancient Tamils.

They wore attractive dress made of cotton silk and wool. They also exported the textiles made out of these materials to foreign countries. Sir John Marshall in his book "*Mohanjadaro and Indus Valley Civilization*" says, that textiles were exported to western countries from India, as far back as 3000 B.C. Here India implies Tamilakam.

Silappatikāram mentions of the street of the weavers, who manufacture the clothes with cotton yarn, wool and silk yarn.[6]

"The cloth is as fine as '*aravuri.*' Its texture is so fine that it is not discernible to the eye.[7]

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3. " வேளை வெண்பூ வெண்டயிர்க் கொளிஇ
ஆய்மகன் அட்ட அம்புளி மிதவை " — (புறம் : 215)

4. " புறவுக்கரு வன்ன புன்பல வரகின்
பாற்பெய் புன்கம் தேனொடு மயக்கிக்
குறுமுயற் கொழுஞ்சூடு கிழித்த ஏக்கலொடு
... ...
அமலைக் கொழுஞ் சோறுரர்ந்த பாணர்க்கு " — (புறம் : 34)

5. பாலிற் பெய்தவும் பாகிற் கொண்டவும்
அளவுபு கலந்து மெல்லிது பருகி " — (புறம் : 381)

6. " நூலினும் மயிரினும் நுழைநூற் பட்டினும்
பால்வகை தெரியா பன்னூ றடுக்கத்து
நறுமடி செறிந்த அறுவை வீதியும் " — (சிலம்பு : 14, 205-207)

7. " நோக்கு நுழைகல்லா நுண்மைய பூக்கனிந்து
அரவுரி யன்ன அறுவை " — (பொருநராற்றுப்படை)

Pariyakam (anklet consisting of little bells), *Nūpuram Patakam* (kinds of anklets), *Catankai* (ornament of the feet), *Kurankuceri* (ornament worn on the thigh), *Viricikai, Kandikai* (necklace), Tolvalai (ring worn on the upper arm), *Cutakam* (bracelet). Āram (pearl garland), *Valmpuri* (head ornament shaped like *Valampuri canku*) were the ornaments worn by the women in Cankam age.

People in village parts resided in small and compact houses and those in cities lived in big and spacious buildings.

"The buildings of the city of *Kaviripūmpattinam* are high piercing through the clouds."[8]

"The palace of the king is built not with tiles made of clay but of the gold sheets."[9]

Different kinds of vehicles such as 'civikai' (palanquin), *Vaiyam* (carts). *Vankam* (ship) *Thér* (chariot) were in vogue in ancient Tamilakam.

The high standard of life led by the ancient Tamils and their attainment in the material aspect of civilization, are distinct from these instances. Likewise, their moral standard and their spiritual attainment were of high order.

IV

The Tamils from the very early period were having trade with the countries abroad, as a result of which, there was a comingling of the Tamil culture with the world culture and *vice versa* As the Tamils flourished in all walks of life in the very early period, we may say that mostly their culture had its impact with other countries with which they were having trade relations.

It is held by the scholars, that the Tamils were the pioneers in building the ships and carrying on trade with the countries of the world, with the consequence, they distinguished themselves in the field of world trade.

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8. பட்டினப்பாலை : (மழைதோயும் உயர்மாடம்)
9, சிலப்பதிகாரம் : (14 : 146-147)

V

Even before thousands of years, South India was having contact with West Asia. Teakwood belonging to India was found at the place of 'Ūr' which was once the capital city of Sumerian kings. The scholars hold that the teakwood must have been exported from South India before B.C. 4000. It has been discovered that in the tombs of the princes of Egypt, the mummies are covered with the very fine south Indian silk cloth.

During the period of the reign of king of Egypt, Solomon (about B.C. 1000) ships came to Tamilakam from that country once in three years for exporting gold, silver, ivory, monkeys, peacocks etc.

Words like *Kabim, Tukim* found in that language bear testimony to this. These words are only corrupted words of Tamil words 'kavi' meaning monkey and 'Tōkai' meaning peacock.

Subsequently the Arabs and the Greeks had trade relations continuously with Tamilakam. In Greek language we find that some Tamil words are being used.

Greek		*Tamil*
Orica	...	arici
Jinjiber	...	Injivér
Carpian	...	Caruvappattai

It is evident that the Greek merchants, while they were carrying on trade with Tamilakam, imported these Tamil words in European countries along with the goods,

During the period of Ptolemy, the Egyptians and Greeks carried on their trade flourishingly with the Indian goods. On account of this trade, Alexandria came to be known as the centre of world trade. The word 'Yavanar'[10] in Tamil literature refers to the Greeks, Romans and Egyptians who carried on trade with Tamilakam. Pulavar Nakkīrar blesses the king *Iiavanthikaippalli tuniya Nanmāran* saying "May your life be

10. "யவனர் நன்கலந்தந்த தண்கமழ் தேறல். — (புறம் : 56)

happy; May we have the pleasure of enjoying the sweet smelling 'Théral' (intoxicating drink) brought by the 'Yavanas' and given to you by the hands of the beautiful ladies every day." [11]

The Greek merchants brought intoxicating drinks, brass, lead, glass etc...from Egypt to Muciri and in return they took pepper, betel leaves, ivory, fine cloths etc...from Muciri and other sea ports in Tamilnad. Likewise, Tamilakam was having trade relationship with the countries of South East Asia. There are ample evidences for this in Periplus. According to Periplus things were brought from North China to Tamilakam through Lhasa in Tibet. These things were sent to various ports of Tamilakam such as Korkai, Kaviripūmpattinam, Sopattinam along the river Ganges, from where the things were transported to the west coasts, with the help of the carts and donkeys. And thence, things were exported to the ports of Arabian Sea and Red sea. The ships that had imported the things at the ports of the eastern seas were used to take in return the fine silk cloth, pearls and corals etc., of Tamilakam. The ships reached the west coast going round Kumari Munai.

The writings of Marco Polo, bear evidence in support of this trade:

"Cail is a great and noble city and belongs to Ashar, the eldest of the five brother kings. (Ashar seems to stand for (kula) - sékhara). It is at this city that all the ships that come from the west touch, as from Normos and from Kis and from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. Andthis brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in this city of Cail." [12]

Marco Polo has praised the Tamilian kings, especially the Pāndyas. "The king possesses vast treasures, and wears upon his person great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners so that they are glad to visit his city." [13]

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11. நக்கீரர்.
12. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry: *Foreign notices of South India*: p. 179.
13. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry: *Ibid*; p. 179.

VI

Thanks to the trade relationship, there must have been an impact of Tamilian civilization on the foreign countries.

Since the Egyptians and Greeks were importing rice, ginger, pepper etc. to their countries they ought to have learnt the ways of using them for food from the Tamils.

They must have also learnt from the Tamils, the sophisticated way of dressing with fine attractive cloths made of cotton, silk and wool. There are a number of evidences to show that the Tamilian culture is pervasive in south east Asia. The South East Asia was called Katāram or Kazhagam by the ancient Tamils. There are references in Cankam literature and early Tamil epics to Tamilakam's contact with the countries of south east Asia.

In *Manimēkatai*, one of the major Tamil epics, which is believed to be the work of 2nd century A.D. it is stated that in the city of Kānci, various religions chiefly Buddhism flourished and, that it was also a seat of high Tamil culture. Mahāyāna and Hinayāna are the two sects of Buddhism. Kāncipuram was the seat of these two sects of Buddhism till 12th century A D., from where they had spread to the south east countries such as Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Champa and South China. Along with these two sects of Buddhism, the Grantha scripts and South Indian Arts such as Amarāvathi arts, which were in vogue in the Pallava period were taken to the south east countries. Even before the two sects of Buddhism reached south east countries, Śaiva and Vaishnava religions of South India were there which merged with the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna sects of Buddhism, when they were introduced in those countries. Hinayāna sect flourished in South East Asia till 5th century A.D. And thereafter the Mahāyāna sect became popular till 12th century A.D. The scholars are of opinion, that Śaiva Religion was introduced in Indo-China even before the 1st century A.D. and Vaishnava religion in 5th century A.D. Śree Vijaya, the king of Sumatra and Silėndra, the king of Central Asia, were the most powerful kings of South east countries. Till the beginning of 11th century A.D. the Chola kings were in friendly terms with Vijaya and Silendra. Rājarāja I also continued to have friendly

relationship with them. But subsequently there resulted a strained relationship on account of keen competition in trade. In 925 A.D. Rājéndra Chola made a naval attack on Vijaya and Silendra and defeated them. The trade previliges given to those two kings were repealed. Thus we see that the Tamils undertook sea voyage, for the purpose of trade and for exercising their authority over south eastern seas. They made a voyage to these countries, not only to earn wealth by trade, but also to have intimate contact with the people over there. The Tamils became familiar with their ways of life, their aspirations, which enabled them to move freely with them. Many of them including the Brahmins, settled themselves and became the citizens of those countries. It was not the custom of the ancient Tamils to take the womenfolk with them during the sea voyage.[14] Therefore the Tamils who had a desire to settle themselves in the south east countries had to marry the native girls. When the Brahmins left Tamilakam to these countries, they took with them the devotional hymns Thévāram, Thiruvācakam and also *manthra* and rituals. Those Brahmins were called there as 'Rājaguru.' They were also awarded titles of honour such as 'Pattārakar.'

It is gratifying to note that Hinduism and Buddhism that were introduced in the countries of South east Asia never came into conflict with the existing native beliefs, rituals, festivals, and culture. On the other hand, an integration of different cultures had taken place in those countries. The king represents as the head of the people having different cultures. Unity is distinct in those countries devoid of casteism and religious fanaticism.

The Coronation ceremony in Thailand, represents the commingling of the three religions — the native religion, the Buddhism and the Hinduism.

During this ceremony there is a ritual called the 'opening the gates of Kailās.' The *manthra* recited in the ritual is nothing but the first song of Appar which begins "*Kuttāyinavaru.*" In addition to this, Sanskrit *manthras*, the *manthra* of Buddhism are recited. We should consider here, why this ritual is called as the 'opening of the gates of Kailās.' There is a tradition found in '*Periya Purānam*' that Saint Appar went on a

14. தொல்காப்பியம்.--" முந்நீர் வழக்கம் மகடூவோடில்லை "

pilgrimage with a determination to have a sight of Kailās. On the way he heard the divine voice saying that if he went to Thiruvaiyāru he would have the vision of Kailās there. Accordingly, when Saint Appar reached Thiruvaiyāru the presence of divine Mother and Father was visible everywhere.

The ritual which begins with the words 'Kuṟṟaviyavaru' has the significance of this story in *Periyapurānam.*

Swing festival is an important festival in Thailand. It is the national festival of that country. This festival is reverentially called *Thiruppāvai* and *Thiruvempāvai* which are, as we know, two hymns sung by Andāl and Saint Manicka Vācagar. Thiruvempāvai is the devotional song of the Saivites and Thiruppavai is the devotional song of the Vaishnavites. Our country is not totally rid of the conflict between these two sects of religions. But in Thailand, the devotional songs of these two sects are sung by the priests during the national swing festival without any kind of sectarian difference. The first two stanzas of Thiruvempāvai are sung in the festival. Dr. T. P. Meenākshisundaranār is of opinion that once all the stanzas of Thiruvempāvai must have been recited during the festival. During the Swing festival offerings are made to Lord Vishnu, Dr. T. P. Meenākshisundaranār holds that the first two stanzas of Thiruppāvai also, must have been recited before.[15] At the City of Bangkok there are three Hindu temples. One is a Saiva Temple. The other is a Vaishnava Temple. The third temple is that of Vināyaka. The swing festival was once celebrated near the large open field adjacent to these three temples. "The Vishnu temple there," says Dr. T. P. Meenākashisundaranār[16] "forces us to conclude that these verses of the Thiruppāvai also would have been sung during the festival."

VII

The linguists in their research, have found out a number of Tamil or the Dravidian words mixed with the languages of other countries :—

For instance the following words of Sumerian language are considered to be the Tamil words :

Tamil words in Philipine language :

Sumerian	*Tamil*	*Philipine*	*Tamil*
Par, Bara	para, paravutal	Bagay	Vakai

15. Dr. T. P. Meenashisundaranar : "*Thiruppavai, Thiruvempavai in South-east Asia.*" Proceedings of IATR—Vol. 1, p. 15.

16. Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaranar : *Ibid* - p. 17.

Sumerian	Tamil	Philipine	Tamil
Bid	Vitu	Bilanggu	Vilanku
Kur	Kunru	Kapal	Kappal
Mud	Muttai	Manikam	Mānikkam
Mulu	Mūlai	Pitaka	Petti
Tukul	Tukil	Puca	Pūcai (Punai)

Tamil words in Malayan language :

Malay		Tamil
Mudu	...	Muttu
Modal	...	Mutal
Cerpu	...	Ceruppu
Kari	...	Kari
Kolam	...	Kulam
Badai	...	Vatai
Palam	...	Palam
Pericai	...	Paricai
Apam, Apom	...	Appam
Malar	...	Malar

The admixture of Tamil words in the various languages of the world, is a clear evidence for the prevalence of the Tamil civilization and culture in those countries.

VIII

There are a number of instances in the ancient Tamil classics to prove that the Tamils had attained a high standard of culture, morally and spiritually, even before thousands of years. The word '*panpātu*' denotes culture. This noun form has been derived from the verb '*panpātu*' meaning to cultivate. So the word 'panpātu' implies the cultivation of the spirit of morality and divinity for higher attainments.

The marriages resulting from genuine love between a man and a woman were generally in vogue in the ancient Tamil land.

Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant grammatical treatise, deals with the love-marriage elaborately. The work classifies it into '*kalavu*' and '*karpu*.' '*Kalavu*' denotes the premarital love

affairs and '*karpu*' the domestic life led by the man and wife after their marriage.

The whole section of *Porulatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam* deals with the literary principles which reflect the ways of life led by the Tamils of the hoary past. Therefore, from *Tolkāppiyam* it is evident, that the custom of love-marriage had taken its deep root in the life of the Tamils, thousands of years ago. It is also clear from *Tolkāppiyam* and other cankam classics that the pre-marital love affairs of a man and woman, enabled them to understand each other thoroughly well, before they married and settled themselves in domestic life. The pre-marital love affairs also implies that a man and a woman of the ancient past had freedom to choose his or her life partner. It is doubtful whether a woman have had this kind of freedom in other countries of the world in the very early age. We have every reason to believe that the custom of love marriage existing in western countries might have been result of the influence of the ancient Tamil custom in this respect. In cankam age, there was a custom for a lover to present fragrant flowers and tender leaves to his ladylove as a token of his love. Though this custom is no more prevelent among the Tamils in the present day, we see that this is in vogue in the western countries. But it is to be noted, that there is a vast difference between the conceptions of love of ancient Tamils and that of the Western people. According to the ancient Tamils the love of man and wife implies the union of two souls. But it is doubtful, whether the conception of the western love has this deep implication.

A lover who wants to go on an important mission, approaches his lady love to take leave of her. She says to him: "If you want to say anything to me say that you are not leaving me. The moment you leave I will not survive."[17] These words of the ladylove, reveal that her lover is her very life and soul.

Hospitality and entertaining guests was one of the chief domestic virtues. It was a Tamilian culture to extend a warm

17. "செல்லாமை யுண்மேல் எனக்குரை! மற்றுநின்
வல்வரவு வாழ்வார்க் குரை"—குறள்

welcome to a stranger who comes to one's house and entertain him with delicious feast. Tiruvalluvar considers the person who denies himself the pleasure of entertaining the guest as a worthless man.[18]

In no part of the world, the hospitality and entertaining of guests was held to be such an important virtue. The foreigners such as Greeks and Romans who visited Tamilakam in connection with their trade, must have enjoyed the hospitality of the ancient Tamils and carried this culture of the Tamils to their homelands.

Another distinct virtue that was considered to be dear to the ancient Tamils was, the sharing of one's things and properties among their fellow beings. Tiruvalluvar holds, that the life of the person who shares his things with others will ever be prosperous.[19] Tirutākkatēvar, the author of the great Tamil epic *Cīvaka Cintāmani* calls as sinners, those who deny themselves the pleasure of sharing their things with others.[20] There are several poems in Cankam classics, sung in praise of the kings, chieftains and benefactors who have helped the society very generously with their wealth. Tiruvalluvar likens the pleasure derived by a person who shares his wealth with his fellow beings, to the pleasure derived by a lover while he embraces his ladylove affectionately. From this we understand the spirit in which the virtue of sharing the wealth with others was held by the ancient Tamils. It was held as their policy to voluntarily share among themselves, whatever riches they had among them. It was their view that the wealth earned by one did not exclusively belong to him. Gandhiji's trusteeship view propagated by him reflects the ancient Tamil ideals.

We may say that the fundamental idea of communism practised in Russia, Poland and China has the basis in the ideals of ancient Tamils. But we must note one fundamental difference between the present day communism and the ideals of the ancient Tamils, with regard to sharing of the wealth. The

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18. திருக்குறள் 89.
19. குறள் 44.
20. சீவகசிந்தாமணி.

ancient Tamils practised their ideals with genuine spirit of love and kindness for the humanity as a whole.

In the present day, much is talked about the 'One World' theory. We expected that the efforts of the United Nations would pave the way for the international integration. But the state of affairs is otherwise. The ancient Tamils regarded every country of the world as their own and every nation as their kin.[21] There are many instances in the cankam classics and Tamil epics which emphasise the ideals of universal brotherhood. The realization of the dream of 'One World,' we may say, may be achieved, if the spirit of universalism of the ancient Tamils, is imbibed by the present world.

Ahimsai or non-violence which had been preached and practised by Gāndhiji, was valued by the ancient Tamils as their high ideal. Tiruvalluvar explains its value in one full chapter entitled "*Innāceyyāmai.*" Its human values are emphasised in the Tamil epic *Cīvak Cintāmani* in many contexts. But it must be noted, that the ancient Tamils never attempted to introduce the ideal of non-violence in politics whereas Gāndhiji did it and succeeded to an extent.

The aforesaid ways of life and ideals practised by the ancient Tamils indicate their high standard of culture. They were able to live a happy and contended life by dint of their broad mental outlook and high standard of culture. Tiruvalluvar says "this world exists because there are men of high culture. It is certain that the world will be annihilated if it is devoid of them."[22]

Indeed the words of Tiruvalluvar are true. If the world lacks true culture which implies the moral and spiritual attainment, it will be reduced to degeneracy resulting in chaos.

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21. "யாதும் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளிர்"—புறம்,
22. "பண்புடையார் பட்டுண்டுலகம் அதுவின்றேல்
மண்புக்கு மாய்வதுமன்"—குறள்

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AS FOUND IN PERIYAPURANAM

BY

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Literature is the mirror of times. It is one of the sources of information about the historical, social, religious and political conditions of a land. South India, especially Tamil Nādu, has a special feature of its own. Though there are stone inscriptions, copper plates, iconography, numismatics, archeological evidences and foreign notices of some authors, throwing light on the history of the Tamil country, Tamil Literature sheds a clearer light on the Sangam and also post-Sangam ages. Later literatures, like the Epics, Purāṇās and Prabandhās help us a great deal in knowing the political and social conditions of Tamil Nādu in its medieval age. One such evidence is the Periyapurāṇam.

The Periyapurāṇam is one of monumental literatures of the medieval period and occupies an important place among the literatures of Śaiva religion, as the last of the Twelve Saivattirumuṟais. Besides being a collection of biographies of 63 Śaiva Nāyaṉmārs individually and nine sets of Adiyārs collectively, it contains all the qualities of an epic Its author is Sēkkiḻār, a Prime Minister of name and fame under Anapāya Cholan, historically identified to be Kulōttunga II of the Vijayālaya Chola line of the famous Later Cholas. The political status of a Prime Minister under the Chola Emperor helped him to a very great extent in collecting genuine facts and details, from all nooks and corners of Tamil Nādu, in writing this monumental volume of Periyapurāṇam. It contains 4285 stanzas on the whole in *viruttam* metre, furnishiug all relevant and genuine first-rate information, in all different fields of Tamilian civilisation.

Himself being a chief of the political organisation of the Chola kingdom, Sekkiḻār is able to give among other details, a

clear account of the judiciary during the period of the Nāyanmārs of the Tamil land, say between 5th and 9th century A.D., since Periyapurāṇam is a triplicate detailed account of Tiruttoṇṭattokai, a work of the religious savant, Sundaramūrti Nāyanār who lived during the Pallava period. We have many references, in the biographies of different Nāyanmārs, to the administration of justice, dealing with civil and criminal sides of judiciary. We have a good variety of cases which are dealt with clearly and impartially.

Civil :

On the civil side we have two different sets of cases: one based on custom and, the other based on contract. In the first kind of case, we have instances in Tirunīlakaṇṭa Nāyanār of Chidambaram and Amarnīthi Nāyanār of Paḻayāṟai. The former was entrusted with a begging bowl by an old brahmin mendicant, who asked Tirunīlakaṇṭar to keep the bowl safe with him for some days and hand it back to him (mendicant) on his return. And Tirunīlakaṇṭar accepted the mendicant's bowl and promised to return the same when asked for. The mendicant was no other than Lord Śiva who came in this disguise, in order to make public, the greatness of the Adiyār, devotee, Tirunīlakaṇṭar. The Lord, mendicant, was pleased to hide away the bowl from the place of safety in Tirunīlakaṇṭar's house and so, when he came back and demanded for the return of his bowl, Tirunīlakaṇṭar could not find the same in its place, where he had kept it safe. So Tirunīlakaṇṭar explained the fact to the mendicant and offered a new bowl in its place. But the mendicant refused and insisted on having his own old bowl.

In the same manner, a brahmin bachelor asked Amarnīti Nāyanār of Paḻayāṟai, to keep one of his dry loin cloths for some time and give it back to him when he came after taking his bath. Amarnīti gladly accepted the request. As in the former case of Tirunīlakaṇṭar, Lord Śiva who came in the guise of a bachelor, hid away the dry loin cloth from Amarnīti's safe custody and so when he demanded the return of the loin cloth, Amarnīti was not able to return it. The Śaiva bachelor insisted on having his own loin cloth, refusing to take any new one,

In the above two instances, we have a case of breach of trust. The case under breach of trust was settled according to the wishes and demands of the plaintiff. The defendant must agree to undergo the kind of punishment inflicted by the plaintiff. That was the custom in the civil side of judiciary. Accordingly, the Śaiva mendicant imposed upon Tirunīlakaṇṭar to prove his faultlessness of hiding the bowl, by dipping himself in the temple tank holding the hand of his son or wife. With some amendment, Tirunīlakaṇṭar bathed in the tank with his wife and rose up in their youthful age. In the like manner Amarnīti was asked by the brahmin bachelor to give a new loin cloth of the same weight of his old one. When a new loin cloth was placed in the balance, it could not keep equal the weight of the bachelor's old one. Amarnīti placed one by one, all his wealth but it did not keep the balance, and at last, with his whole family Amarnīti stepped on the balance when the two plates came to a level—thus Amarnīti became the property of the bachelor to reach the pleasant feet of Lord Śiva. Such was the kind of judgement based on custom for breach of trust.

Another is the case of contract. Both the parties enter into a mutual contract with each other and each is bound to the other in the execution of the contract ; and no other consideration, either custom or reasoning, could interfere in the enforcement of such a contract. We have clear instances of this kind in Periapurāṇam. One is a case, between the Epic hero, Sundaramūrti Nāyaṉār of Tirunāvalūr and an old brahmin who appeared before the former in his marriage *pandal* at Puttūr. The old man sued before the audience of elders in the marriage house by saying, that Sundarar, the bridegroom, was his slave and hence, he should not take to his marriage ritual without getting his (old man's) permission. Sundarar and other members at the *pandal* laughed and objected to the old man's case by saying that it was never a practice or convention among the brahmins to become a slave to another. The old man insisted on his right to demand Sundarar's slavery on the written agreement of Sundarar's grandfather, who had signed whole heartedly, that he and his successors would be slaves to the old brahmin. After some discussion and confusion, the plaintiff, the old brahmin, brought his defendant, Sundarar,

before the village court of elders at Tiruvennainallūr. The judges of the court wanted a proof of the case either in custom or in written agreement or through an eye witness to strengthen and establish his case. The old man showed the original document written and signed by the grandfather of Sundarar and legally took Sundarar as his *aṭimai* (slave).

There is also another case, based on mutual agreement between the parties. Lord Śiva offered himself as a best friend to Sundarar, who is hence called, Tampirān Tōḷar. Sundarar requested his friend, Lord Śiva, to appease his (Sundarar's) consort, Paravai, of her anger and to help their union. Accordingly Lord Śiva, as a dutiful friend, walked along the roads of Tiruvārūr to the house of lady Paravai twice in the midnight and brought unity between the couple. Ēyarkōne Kalikkāma Nāyanār of Perumangalam, greatly objected to the action of Sundarar for having demeaned the greatness of Lord Siva, by employing Him in such a mean action and refused to recognise and meet Sundarar as a co-devotee. But Lord S'iva punished Ēyarkōne, by inflicting on him acute stomach pain, because Ēyarkōne as a third person, had no right to question about the action, which was done by mutual understanding and contract between the parties.

So also the Jains and Tirugnānasambandar agreed between themselves, before they entered into the water and fire tests, in order to establish the greatness of their respective religion, that, the vanquished should take to self-torture of death (*kaḻu*). Accordingly, when the Jains got defeated in the tests, according to their agreement, they offered themselves to *kaḻu* until death; Tirugnānasambandar, did not stop them from that cruel punishment and the Pāṇḍyan saw that justice was maintained by inflicting the legal punishment in order to honour the agreement of the parties.

In a like manner the Jains in Tiruvārūr entered into an agreement with a S'aiva saint Taṇṭi, a born-blind, that if he got back his eye sight by the Grace of his Lord S'iva, they would quit Tiruvārūr. Accordingly, in the august presence of the then Chola king and the Jains at the banks of the lotus tank, Kamalālayam, Saint Taṇṭi got his full sight and the Chola king, legally drove all the Jains from Tiruvārūr and

thus helped for the renovation of the tank, Kamalālayam, by Taṇṭi.

Criminal:

On the criminal side of justice, we have many instances in Periyapurāṇam. At the very first opening of the Purāṇam, we have the instance of Maṉunīthiccholar. A calf was accidentally run over by the royal chariot of the prince, on his way to the temple and the mother cow wanted justice by ringing the royal bell at the palace. King Maṉu rendered justice to the petitioner, the cow, by running the chariot over the breast of his only son, under whose chariot the calf had died.

One Eṟipatta Nāyaṉār boldly killed the royal elephant of Pukaḻ Cholan, by his own axe, for its action of throwing away the flower basket from the hands of Sivakāmiyāṇṭāṉ, a Śaiva devotee.

Another Ceruttuṇai Nāyaṉār, a flower stringer at the Tiruvārūr temple cut off the nose of the royal queen, Rega, of the Pallava monarch, Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ, for smelling a flower within the temple grounds.

Catti Nāyaṉār, was bold enough to cut the tongue of those who spoke ill of Lord Śiva, with his knife.

Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār of Nāṭṭiyattāṅkudi, mercilessly killed all his relatives including an infant child, simply because they had eaten away in a drought season, the rice which was ear-marked by Kōṭpuli for offering to Lord Śiva.

Caṇṭēswara Nāyaṉār, cut off the legs of his own father, when the latter haughtily kicked the milk pots, which were kept ready for the *pūja*.

One Mūrka Nāyaṉār, took to unlawful means of gambling and then, murdering those who wanted to escape on defeat in gambling, and thus utilised the gains in feeding the devotees of Śiva sumptuously.

Kalikkampa Nāyaṉār of Peṇṇādam, cut off the hands of his wife, when she hesitated a little in pouring the water for washing the feet of the devotees of Lord Śiva.

Tirunīlanakkar, eschewed his wife, for blowing the spider from the Linga, as she had polluted the Lord by her saliva spray.

Meypporul Nāyaṉār, a chieftain of Tirukkōilūr, allowed himself to be stabbed by a cunning saint called Muttanātan, when he pretended to preach Śaiva Ākama, Meypporul, went a step further, by ordering his aide-de-camp, Tattan, to escort the saint Muttanātan safe, without any danger to his life, out of the city.

The famous warrior saint, Ciṟuttoṇṭar and his dutiful wife, Tiruveṇkāṭṭu Nangai, with their full consent, prepared a dish for an Aṭiyār by cutting their only son's body.

Iyaṟpakai Nāyaṉār, fought single handed against all his relatives and massacred them, when they wanted to stop his wife going with an Aṭiyār to whom Iyarpakai willingly gifted his wife.

Nature of Offence:

Reviewing the above instances of criminal action of the devotees (Aṭiyārs) in Periyapurāṇam, we have to assess the nature of the offence (crime) for which a capital punishment for murder was given. Periyapurāṇam is a piece of literature of the Śaiva religion, which portrays, that a religious, crime was considered to be very serious; and religion, being the foremost thought of the Tamilian society, the slightest offence in that field of religion was taken as a serious crime and, a capital punishment was inflicted then and there, without adjournment. And another thing we have to note is, that the common people took the law in their own hands to punish the culprits, without referring to the government or court of law, to enquire into the offence; and the rulers of the country too, did not object to this action of the common people. What does this nature of administration of justice show? We have to infer that religion in those days, was so honoured as a backbone of society that, every individual in that State had a right to maintain the sanctity of the religious order and inflict punishment, as if it was a family affair of the individual. No one went to a royal court for any crime done within his family and, each member of the

family was free to set right the wrongs done in his family house.

It is also to be noted that, even the greatest crime done for a good and religious cause was considered guiltless. The murderous action of Mūrkar like that of Tirumānkai Āḻwār, the cutting off the body of their son by Ciṟuttoṇṭar and, the stealing of the paddy from the granary of Iṭankaḻiyār, were taken as guiltless, since its aim was for a noble cause of feeding the devotees. Iyaṟpakaiyār and Meyporulār aimed at fulfilling the wishes of the devotee, Aṭiyār. An action must be judged not by its means, but by its results, as is done in respect of the doctors and surgeons who aiming at the sound health of the patients prescribe bitter medicines and apply burning surgery.

Administration of Justice :

In Tamil Nādu, as in England, law was supreme. Every one was equal in the eyes of law and was brought under the force of law without any discrimination or privilege. Caṇṭēswarar cut off his father's leg for kicking the milk pot meant for pūja ; Kōṭpuliyār killed the young child as it had sucked the breast milk of its mother, who unlawfully ate the rice in his granary ; King Maṉu killed his only son and successor to the throne, in order to give justice to the cow and Kūn Pāṇdiyan put the Jains in the *kaḻu* to keep up their promise. Iyaṟpakaiār killed his relatives, since they intruded on his rights.

The dignity of kingship was maintained and his orders were respected. When summoned to the king Mahēndrā's court, Tirunāvukkarasar, though he first refused, later obeyed and went to the royal court and agreed to undergo the punishments.

The real culprit of a crime was traced and he got the due punishment. Since the Jains set fire to the lodging of Tirugnānasambandar at Madurai with the permission of the Pāndiya king, Sambandar directed the pangs of fire to the person of the king. King Pukaḻ Cholan offered himself to be murdered by Eṟipattar, since he was the real culprit and guilty person who had allowed his royal elephant to do mischief with Sivakamiāṇṭān's flower basket. And the Pallava king, Kaḻaṟcinkan himself cut off the hand of his queen, which helped her to take the flower to her nose to be smelt in the temple.

King Maṉu's respect of law and administration had a special feature to note. He wanted to meet justice to the cow which has lost its young calf. Though his wise ministers said, that any compensatory act as found in the religious code might be done for the loss incurred by the beast, King Maṉu

thought, it was just and proper on his part, to do equal justice to the cow. He wanted to undergo himself the actual feeling of the loss and grief of the cow in a sympathetic feeling, by losing his own son.

The English constitution admits that law is supreme but the king can do no wrong. This is called 'Unrebuttal Law.' The same feature we find in the Periyapurāṇam. When king Pukal Cholan came to the spot of his elephant's murder, he saw saint Eṛipattar on the scene. At once he said that Eṛipattar could not do a wrong; he would not have killed the elephant, unless it had done any grave crime. Such was the faith and respect towards the saint, who would never act unlawfully without ample reason.

There was also the practice of Satyāgraha and resort to hunger strike in those days, to have a good thing fulfilled. When saint Appar came to know that the Jains had buried Śiva Linga at Palayāṛai, he squatted himself there at the spot, refusing to move and also to eat any morsel of food unless and until, the Linga was excavated and brought to its original place of worship. The then Chola king accordingly brought out the buried Linga and erected a temple, housing the Lord.

In civil cases, the three evidences were insisted upon for proving the validity of a case viz., Customary practice, written record aud eye-witness. This was enforced at Tiruveṇṇainallūr to prove the old brahmin's demand of slavery on Sundarar.

Last, but not the least, was the divine punishment God himself mercilessly inflicted punishment upon the wrong doers. When Sundarar broke his promise to his consort Sankiliyār and stepped out of the boundary of Tiruvoṛṛiyūr, God made both of his eyes blind. So also Maruḷnīkkiyār alias Appar was given acute stomach ache (*Sūlai*) for his arrogant adoption of Jainism against his family adherence to Śaivism, and also. in the case of Ēyarkōne Kalikkāmar, for finding fault with Sundarar's action of employing Lord S'iva as a mediator between him and his consort Paravaiyār. In the code of Śaivism, there was no escape from punishment, for any crime done by anybody.

These above details found in the monumental work of Periyapurāṇam by the able Prime Minister and divine Saint, Sekkiḻār, go a long way to prove that the Tamils of those days were so civilized, as to enjoy a life of equity and justice.

RELIGION IN THE CHANGING WORLD

BY

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A study of human psychology discloses that man feels unable to face his real self and makes a terrific attempt to run away from Himself. He is most ill at ease, when he is face to face with his desires, ambitions, lusts and emotions. He does not succeed in running away from them, for they keep on haunting him even in his dreams and sleep. Whenever he runs, he carries his self. Peace is a mirage without self-integration. The central problem of man is, the war between what he sees as his ideal, and what actually impels him and draws him away. The intention-resultant discrepancy is the result of the failure of the will. Duryodhana says "I know what is *dharma* but I am not able to act up to it, I know what is *adharma*, and I am not able to desist from it." Arjnna asks Kṛṣṇa "as to why man acts the wrong way in spite of his desire to the contrary." St. Paul echoes Arjuna's question 'the good that I would, I do not, the evil that I would not, that I do."—St. Augustine explodes in dejection "I know not—how it is, that an object of desire becomes more seductive when it is forbidden." St. John's gospel declares "that is the condemnation, that light is come to the world and men loved darkness, rather than light, because, their deeds were evil."

The disease of the will can only be set right by spiritual religion. No substitute can work for it. Mankind goes into two groups, those that believe in religion (the daivīsaṁpat) and atheistic group (āsuric saṁpat). The two types are described in the 16th chapter of the *Gīta*. The aggressive type suffers from a superhuman pride about its autonomy and achievement. The atheists are power-mad and purse proud and deny all virtues. They believe in hectic life and in endless addition to their possessions. They elbow out their fellow men and seek to dominate all. They banish all reflection, as speculative nonsense. Peace and quiet are anathema to them,

They fill their hours with the titillation of the senses, gathering sensations, resorting to sense enjoyment, sports and at times to drinks and drugs. They are intolerant of all opposition. They gloat over their success and describe their restless way of life as, progress. They seek all the time to fly from their self and want to dissolve it. Men are not able to face the nakedness of their self. It pains them. The various faculties do not cooperate, each of them seeks to be the master and, erects itself as an end. This introduces strife and disorder. Gurdjieff describes the plight graphically, "The inner state of a man is like a house in which there is no master, nor any other individual capable of controlling the rabble of servants that is running it. All the servants claim to be the rightful owners of the house and as a result of this claim, the house is usually in the greatest disorder, the servants being at the wrong places and doing the wrong work. The cook is in the garden, the gardner in the kitchen and the butler in the stable and whenever a caller rings the front-door bell and asks to see the master, the servant who happens to be nearest to it, opens the door and replies that he is rightful owner of the house."[1] Similar is the state of the faculties of the modern man's mind, who has no religious outlook to bring order into life.

Some men seek to forget their selves at an infrapersonal level by taking to drugs, alchohol, and sexual excitements. The various agencies of mass-media help men to forget themselves for a while. It cannot be long. The sick self is ever sick. Some seek to forget themselves by undertaking hobbies, ranging from running a business to research in nuclear physics. But all these do not satisfy the ego. What we need is the transcendence of the self and God-vision. That is the supra-personal way of religion.

In the present state of society, the function of Religion is discussed in a spate of books, some crying it up and others decrying it as an opium of the mind. No two subjects are as controversial as Religion and Politics. Science is accepted as the master saviour and all other disciplines are adjudged as perfect to the extent they conform to the conditions of

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1. Kenneth Walker, in *The conscious Mind.*

science. Religion and faith are organic to human nature. The attempt to banish religion from the minds of men is impossible. Men can criticise and declare that the religious truths are unverified, hence, not true and are false. They also can declare, religions do not matter and totally disregard them in their scientific stride for advancement, by leaving behind the shackles of the past, and substituting *valves* for *values*. They may do anything with religion in their deep denigration, but not crowd it out of existence and kill it and, declare it dead. The simple fact is as, Pascal put "men's mind naturally believes and man's heart naturally loves." If this is denied and if man cannot find a God in heaven, he will fall down before a dictator or God on earth. Man's choice is not between no faith and faith but between different types of faith. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan significantly observes: "The age of faith is always with us; only the object of our faith changes. We depart from one creed, only to embrace another." "Man" the *Giṭā* describes, "is made of faith, as his faith is, so is he." Gāndhiji declared "The world is one in fact; it must become one in truth in the hearts and minds of man." Science and Technology have brought us a geographical unity and made the world a close neighbourhood. We may devote a great deal of our time and energy for improving communications, raising the standard of living and developing industry, but these alone will not make one world, except in a geographical sense. If we are to avoid the major evils of civilization neatly enumerated by Gāndhiji under seven heads: (1) Politics without principles. (2) Pleasure without conscience. (3) Commerce without morality. (4) Worship without sacrifice. (5) Wealth without work. (6) Knowledge without character and (7) Science without Humanity, we need a sound religion. To remedy all these, we need to bring about a radical and big change in human nature, and 'whip the offending Adam out of man.' We need to exercise and banish the devil and the ape in man. Religion alone can put in the necessary vision, goodwill and energy for the emergence of a world community. It is a vital force for transferring man from his animal savagery to human existence. The fundamental difficulty experienced by modern man, is his failure to find meaning of life and the purpose of existence. He simply lives in the passing hour and is no more. The fact of death and

nothingness that is beyond death, troubles him most. He sees just a blank.

Leonardo Da Vinci has a significant entry in his diary, a classification of men into three types: (1) Those who see (2) those who see things when shown (3) those who do not see at all. Men today belong to the third class. They refuse to see anything beyond the sense horizon. They do not go beyond the confines of the senses. They fail to see any meaning in life, except the process of sensation. Trans-empiral values which religion pursues, are regarded as will-o'-the-wisp and as delusions. The strenuous conclusions and the discoveries of the sciences and the current ideologies are alarming in their prescriptions. The arguments are stated with great precision and a logical continuity is claimed for them: The modern prophets of common sense declare with Nietzche that 'God is dead.' Consequent to this declaration, men have lost faith not only in God but also in one another. So we have a society of men, selfish to the utmost, highly sophisticated, uncommitted to any creed, extremely cautious, turning their sails to suit every wind that blows and to secure easy navigation. The alarming developments of nuclear weapons and their constant advancement and their test by Christian democracy, on Japanese cities have destroyed men's faith in the innate goodness of man. Man is rightly described as a cunning biped. Man *minus* virtue is a monster. Hitler, Stalin and nuclear weapons, have destroyed faith in man. Some hope that men can use their reason to set their house in order but that hope too is knocked out by Freud and Marx. Both have undermined the power of human reason and glorified the unconscious and the Determinist view of history. In the words of Professor W. G. Cole in his book, "*The restless quest of modern*" the cultured despisers of religion, convert their basic anxiety into a manageable fear and take to the life of conformity, adapt mass ideas, join mass movements and embrace hero-culture. We have here the spectacle of organised religion, which asks us to surrender our reason and be saved. The churches of the various organised religion relieve us of the great bother of thinking, it does all the thinking for us. Once we are in its comforting arms, no longer are we tortured by the frightening freedom we are asked to exercise. We learn to be docile and

are good boys. We develop a piety which silences by pretending to answer the deep questions, which we dare not ask.

Organised and institutional Religions, is the refuge of many who are afraid to think and cannot think. The followers of organised and institutional religions have not left a record of practical life worth remembering. The sorry record of the religious wars, have made men disbelieve religion. A modern agnostic writes that God's first commandment is 'Thou shalt be ignorant,' and religion is the biggest slur on earth. The men of religion are classified, either as tools or hypocrites—tools if they believed in the inanities of their scriptures and hypocrites if they did not, and merely used them for greed and exploitation.

Modern man is facing today the formidable foe of materialist forces that negates man's faith and God. Toynbee writes instructively "In our day, Christianity and all other living higher religions find themselves confronted by a common adversary, the old religion of man-worship in the form of the worship of collective human power." This cult of power armed with the might of modern technology and fired by cruel fanaticism, strikes at the root of religion.

The religions of the world must not lose sight of the perspective and the great challenge facing them i.e. Materialist Humanism and Atheistic Communism. They are the common foes of all religions. They should offer battle to them turning to advantage their common power, and not lose themselves in a fratricidal war. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan describes the predicament graphically, "If the great religions continue to waste their energies in fratricidal war, instead of looking upon themselves as friendly partners in the supreme task of nursing the spiritual life of mankind, the swift advance of secular humanism and materialism is assured."

The genuine religionist, should look upon other religions without an attitude of pride or prejudice and without any bias that his faith is in possession of the complete and exclusive truth and, that all other persuasions either end up in absolute error or have perverted the truth because of their blindness and passion. The adherent of spiritual religion reads other creeds from inside and does not make an external study of

them, or has an impersonal approach to them. His is not an historical approach to religion, about its origins and development. Such a study, no doubt, gives us a treasure-house of information about facts curious and strange. "It needs but little consideration to recognise that the study of each single religion ought, by no means, to be separated from the study of the history of the people concerned.........To try to study the religion alone is a mere childish understanding, than to examine only the roots or the blossoms, instead of the whole plant." The histories of religion cannot tell us what it is to be Hindu or Christian or a Buddhist. though they may give a hay-stack of details about the rituals and rites. The faith, the attitudes and hopes fears and doctrines of the religion are ignored. The motivations are not traced and, they merely touch the fringe. The anthropological and sociological approach leave out the core of religion. Some of the great minds like those of Marx, Freud, and Fraser make howlers in the sublime field of the study of religion.

True religion must be judged by the effects it produces on man's life. Christ's criterion is the true test. 'By the fruits, Ye shall know the tree.' We must not be misled by the observable externals and show. To study and understand the core of religious life, we must be religious. It is a chief concern of man. Mere scholarship alone is not enough; it gives us at times, a dry as dust approach to Reality and religion, which dissects the externals, classifies and labels them and, misses the core of religion.

The truly religious man has involvement and he meets in a dialogue, men of different faiths on equal terms. He is not an agnostic or a detached objective impersonal observer, for such an attitude might be valuable in the study of archaeological treasures, but it loses grip when faced with a living religion.

It is the religious minded sympathetic scholars and the western orientalists that have awakened India's love for her precious spiritual heritage. The publication of the Sacred Books of the East Series, by Max Muller in sixty volumes is a Renaissance in Indian thought. Slyn Vain Levi writes in his (*L'Inde et le mede* p. 15) "By an anomaly without parallel among the rest of mankind, it is by teachings from abroad

that She (India) has begun to know her true greatness." The Buddha who is now being hailed as the greatest of all Indians, had almost been forgotten in the land of his birth till modern times. Asoka, the greatest of the emperors had disappeared from view till 1830, when the Englishmen principally and other scholars deciphered the inscriptions on the pillars and rocks that Asoka had left, but nobody could read. Levi concludes " It is Europe who gave back Buddha and Asoka to India."

The man of true religion recognises the debt he owes to others. Adapting the words of Canrtwell Smith, we can say that the man of sincere religion approaches other faiths not in a spirit of an impersonal "It."

Whenever we compare religions it must be by their best and finest and not their worst. With what measure we judge, we shall be judged. We should not criticise other religions in a spirit of superiority. If they need reform we too need it.

Kipling's verses describe the necessary attitude one should adopt in religion. My brother kneels (So saith Kabir).

The stone and brass in heathen wise
But in my brother's voice I hear
My own unanswered agonies
His God is as his fate assign
His prayer is all the world's music.

The different religious experiences relate to the same reality. The shapes and the forms change but the substance is the same. Tagore sings " Days come, Ages pass, and it is ever He who moves my heart in many a name, in many a guise, in many a rapture of joy and sorrow."

Religion is a total commitment and not fractional living. It implies the function of cognition, conation and affection. Belief and faith are the cognitive aspects, worship, service and moral relations are the conative aspect and, emotions marks the affective aspect.

Religious experience cannot be explained in terms of reason or logic. It is mysterious and not mystifying. Bergson in his *Two sources of morality* states that religious experience changes man from being a creature, into a creator.

There is a sense in which religion is individual. It has to be worked for by the ethical effort of man. It cannot be produced on the commercial scale. It implies in the first stage, renunciation of worldly goals and withdrawal from sense entanglement. After the religious experience, the (*siddha puruṣa*) aspirant goes out into society to work for *Loka Kalyāṇa* (welfare).

The great characteristic of true religion is its universalism. The existentialist Karl Jasper writes "When creeds are made absolute they become a kind of banner. They are the rallying points, the sign of a membership in a group, the badge of enthusiasm, a battle for emblem."

"This claim for exclusivity, is the work of man and not built on God, who provided man with many roads to himself. This approach to religion is characteristic of all genuine non-Fundamentalist scriptures. The exhibition of intolerance is a sign of irreligion."

The true religionists express his sense of responsibility in action. He is never intimidated into inaction for fear of consequences or for consideration of prestige. His religion is ethics-lived. The content of religion is faith "in a system of general truths, which have the effect of transforming character when they are sincerely held and validly apprehended." Without the religious sense, man's evolution is retarded, he halts and remains at a rudimentary stage, fixated to sense life.

Religion takes on many forms and some forms and moulds, are sheer aberrations. The chief among the false religions is Dogmatism, which insists on the doctrine of a unipersonal manifestation and description of ultimate reality. These sects arrogate to their creed, the exclusive disclosure of Reality and offend the sensibilities of other religionists, than their own. They have brutalised the behaviour of men and have made stones of their heart, producing a monstrous constriction, in their humanity and outlook.

Dogmatism and Fundamentalist religion have never stood for peace or goodwill among men. They have supported the state all along and have not hesitated to turn our temples of peace, promptly into theatres of war. It is the bad practice of these cults that have made men, hate religion.

Many a religionist wants to kill the spirit of inquiry of the intellect. 'The death of the intellect is described as the condition of spiritual life.' This attitude to fight shy of the probes of reason has made religion highly suspect. The intellect cannot be crucified, for it has to receive the revelation. Once we sound the death of reason and its play in religion, we do not know where we end. Human intellect, human senses, human faculties all are endowed to men to enable them to grow. They have a purpose in Evolution. They must have their play, in full, and then only reflective consciousness of man shows, those very faculties which helped us to evolve and have to be transcended in the interest of a higher ideal. We should not glorify unreason and instinct to make a religion out of them. Pascal states: "We believe because it is absurd;" Karl Barth looked upon the intellect of man "as the voice of the serpent." Martin Luther writes! "all the articles of the Christian faith are, when considered rationally impossibly mendacious and preposterous. Faith however is completely abreast of the situation. It grips reason by throat and strangles the beast." Kierkaggard exclaimed "Christianity demands the crucifixion of the intellect."

The right-minded religionists is neither an arrogant free thinker nor a fundamental literalist. He knows that scripture guides and, needs the confirmation of the truth through plenary experience. Authentic experience is his test and not mere conceptual apprehension of Reality. Probably, the Danish thinker Kierkaggard had this in view when he described Truth as 'subjective.' It does not mean that truth is private.

The man of religion never flies away from the scene of social agonies. He seeks to serve the Lord in the person of humanity. He should be willing 'to grind the corn' and 'nurse the sick.' He regards all human beings as the manifestation of the Lord. The truly religious man gives up all vulgar luxury, gross sensuality, crude behaviour and coarse speech or reaction. In every one of his activities we have the touch of the divine. He does not twist his tongue to any lie or slander. He lives authentic existence and he is immersed in universal love which makes no distinctions nor stands for any vested interest. He scatters love on the pavements of the universe without the least desire for repayment. His love is unilateral and does

not wait upon its recognition. It flows spontaneously from him. "He reveals virtues spontaneously and does not strive to realise them," in the words of Professor Hiriyanna. He says with St. Teresa 'Jesus has no body now on earth but yours, you are the feet with which he goes about doing good, yours are the Lord's, with which he blesses." Active theocentric Humanism is the best test of devotion. In the wise words of Bosanquet "We know the kind of man who on the whole gets nearest to God. It is not the cleverest, it is I think the sincerest." Humanism is central to religion. Religion lives only in the lives of men. It is not anaemic. Mere ethical life is not enough, for we are asked to *meditate* do *upāsana*, for gaining control. Upāsana helps us to concentrate on Brahman and withdraws the mind from the distractions and lust of the senses.

Madusūdana, the great Advaita thinker says, that if he is not able to carry on Dhyāna, he should undertake the nine types of devotion, e.g. hearing the name of the Lord, singing his glory, prostrating before him etc. These help to secure concentration.

The man of true religion has to express himself into active love. Some of Christ's sayings lifts us up and holds the vision before us.

"Whosoever possess this worldly goods and notices his brother in need, and shuts his heart against him, how can love to God remain in him.........My dear children, let us put our words into deeds to make it real. Thus it is that we may be sure, we belong to truth and reassure ourselves whenever our heart condemns us; for God is greater than the heart and he knows all." (John I—3, 17-20). The Central article of the faith of a religious man is his humanity. "If a man says, I love God, and hates his brother, he is a liar; for how can he who does not love his brother whom he has seen, love god whom he has not seen. (John I, 4-20). The Lord continues, "Let us love one another......he that does not love does not know God."......Jesus adds "feed my lambs feed my sheep tend my sheep." Heal the sick, protect the word of God...... He says: "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you love one another." Wide humanity and love

for all, selflessness, characterise the man of religion. He loves all creation as the manifestation of the Lord. The Lord exhorts Uddhava the great devotee to worship men with devotion for He dwells in them. (*archayēt, dana manābhyam maitra bhinnēna cētasa*). Some religions have described the saint as one who takes suffering of all of them to give peace to others. In the *Bhāgavada purāṇa* we have the prayer of Ratindeva to the effect "that he desires not the status of the Lord with the eightfold glory, nor immortality, but seeks to take upon himself the suffering of all distressed souls and give them peace." The religious man is willing to accept the suffering of others out of his great compassion for troubled souls. The *mahākaruṇa* of the Buddha refused to enter nirvāṇa till all are saved. There is a tradition among the Christian mystics that Christ continues to be on the cross, till the last dust is turned into divinity. The religious man is selfless. Gāndhiji in our times held the view that his religion had taught him "there cannot be happiness for any of us until it is own for all." Religious men recognise and feel the unity of existence and the fellowships of all men. "All men are brothers" declared Gāndhiji.

The spirit of a truly religious man is best summed up by the Chinese Philosopher: "production without possession, development without domination, and action without self-assertion is their ideal." In their quest for their livelihood they do not forget the quality of life. They do not clutch at things with a miser's grasp. They sit loose on things. They exhibit in their life perfect courtesy and exquisite manners and hurt none and are gentle to all, in speech and action. They embody the *sattva guṇa* in all their activities. Their faith, food, tapas, their gifts etc. are all *sattvic*. The ideal of a man of true religion is best described in the Gītā with the help of memorable similes and metaphors. There cannot be an image of vastness and fullness nobler than the ocean to compare the man of religion. He is like a ocean into which all his desires enter as waters, though ever full it still remains in bounds." To the religious man what is night for all beings is waking life. He is like a lamp which flickers not sheltered into a place from the winds! He is the perfect master of his limbs as a tortoise which withdraws them as and when necessary. He is untouched by sorrow or joy and lives like the lotus in

the water. He regards gold and clod of earth with equal detachment. He has equanimity and poise of nature. He remains unruffled by any adverse force.

The man of true religion seeks two things, one horizontally, he wants to established a harmonious way of life for all of justice and love, and the other vertically, he seeks beatitude. His twofold objects are (1) *ātmanām mokṣa* and the welfare of the world (*Jagad hitā*). The task before us today is to know the way: "The way is to penetrate into the depth of one's own religion, in devotion, thought and action. In the depth of one's own religion there is in devotion, thought and actions, a point at which the religion loses its importance, and that which it points to, breaks through its particularity, elevating it to spiritual freedom, and with it to a vision of spiritual presence in other expressions of the ultimate meaning of men's existence."

—(Paul Tillich: *Christianity and the Encounter*, p. 97).

KUDUMIYĀMALAI INSCRIPTION

BY

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The Music inscription in Kuḍumiyāmalai is of all-India interest. It is of great historical value. It throws light on the Music that existed during the 7th Century A.D. The author of the inscription is Mahendra Varman I, a Pallava ruler. He was a genius in the realm of music. There have been Emperors, Kings and Rajahs who are known to musical history as patrons, lakshanakāras, composers and musicians; but not one of them is credited with the authorship of a music inscription. Barring the music inscription at Tirumayam, the musical inscription at Kuḍumiyamalai is the only complete music inscription of its kind, in the whole of India. It is inscribed on a flat piece of rock near the Kuḍuminātbar Temple. The music belongs to the sphere of Abhyāsa gāna and is akin to the sarva laghu tānam.

It gives brief sanchāras for the seven ragas of the period:— Madhyama Grāma, Shadja Grāma, Shādava, Sādhārita, Panchama, Kaisika Madhyama and Kaisiki. The sanchāras given therein are in the form of tānas and each phrase of the tāna comprises four notes (chatushprāhara svarāgamah.) The inscription has been edited and published by Dr. Bhandarkar in Vol. III of the *Epigraphia Indica* Pp. 226-237. There are also references to this Inscription in the Pudukottai State Manual and the *Yāzhnūl* in Tamil by Swami Vipulananda and Dr. C. Minakshi's book; 'Administration and social Life under the Pallavas.' Since the inscription was carved at a time when the bifurcation into the two sub-systems, Hindusthāni and Karnatic had not come into existence, the inscription should interest scholars in North India as well.

Mahendravarman I, had the Birudu (Title), *Sankirna Jāti*. This term was wrongly interpreted as meaning, born of mixed caste. This term has also been wrongly interpreted by the

author of the Pudukottai State Manual, and others to mean 'Proficient in a particular kind of tala.' The conception of laghu Jāti bheda comes late in the history of South Indian Music. The sapta tālas, Dhruva, Maṭya, Rūpaka, Jhampa, Tripuṭa, Aṭa and Eka are expanded into 35 by the introduction of the laghu Jāti bhēda. The scheme of 108 talas is earlier and the scheme of 35 talas is not more than 600 years old. In the scheme of 108 talas, the laghu has only the constant value i.e., Chaturasra. Occasionally the Khanḍa laghu and trisra laghu are used but not the Sankirṇa laghu. To import the idea of Sankīrṇa jāti laghu (which is a laghu with 9 aksharakālas) into the music of the 7th century will be a perversion of musical history.

Jāti was the term that connected rāga in ancient music. Bharata in his *Nāṭya Sāstra* gives the ten lakshanas for jātis. He does not use the word rāga therein. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* also the term jāti is used and not rāga. The term rāga came to be used in the musical sense from the time of Kālidasa. Matanga was the first writer to describe a rāga.

It is interesting to note that Matanga has classified rāgas into Suddha, Chhāyālaga and Sankīrṇa.

Thus the title 'Sankīrṇa jāti' can only mean that Mahendra Varman I, was an expert in the exposition of Sankīrṇa rāgas or mixed rāgas. A suddha rāga was one in which there was no suggestion of any other rāga. Thus Mōhana will be an example of a suddha rāga according to this concept. A Chhāyālaga rāga was one wherein there was the suggestion of another rāga; for example the Saurāshtra rāga of South Indian Music.

A Sankīrṇa rāga was a mixed rāga. Herein, traces of two or more rāgas were discernible. Examples are Dvijavanti and Ghanta. A sankīrṇa rāga however, had its own individuality and could be recognised by any one with a trained ear.

It is interesting to note that the first rāga mentioned in the Inscription, is Madhyama grāma and not Shadja grāma. The frequencies of the notes figuring in Shadja grāma were :—

s	r	g	m	p	d	n
1	10/9	32/37	4/3	3/2	5/3	16/9
4	3	2	4	4	3	2

This is a scale of Sāma gāna and this is the primordial scale of Indian Music. The shadja grāma approximatly corresponds to the Kharaharapriya rāga of South Indian Music and the Kāfi thāṭ of North Indian Music.

The Suddha mela of ancient Tamil Music was the Madhyama Mūrchchana of Shadja grāma and the frequencies of the seven notes herein were:

4 4 3 2 4 3 2

If the frequency of the Panchama svara of the Madhyama grāma, which is flattened by a Pramāṇa śruti (comma 81/80) is restored of the frequency 3/2, the Madhyama Mūrchchana of Madhyama Grāma will be found to the equal to the scale of ancient Tamil music. It is of interest to note that the first mūrchchana, mentioned for Madhyama grāma, is its Madhyama Mūrchana, Sauvīri. Mahendra Varman thus chose the Madhyama grāma as the first rāga because that was the Suddha scale of ancient Tamil Music.

The value of the Inscription lies in the fact that :—

(1) the solfa names of the seven notes, *sa ri ga ma pa dha ni* referred to in such an early work as the *Nārada Parivrājaka Upanishad* were in active use in the 7th century A.D.

(2) Secondly it establishes the fact that the various śrutis used in Indian Music can be correctly and logically designated by resorting to the vowel changes in the name of the note. This mnemonic system is more easy of comprehension than the nomenclature: Tivra, Kumudadavati, Manda, Chhandovati, etc. This is only an empirical nomenclature. This method of designating the varieties of a note by resorting to vowel changes has been adopted in European music many centuries later. Thus *Der, D, Dis* of Western Music stand for Komal rishabha, Chatussruti rishabha and Shaṭsruti rishabha respectively. *Fa* and *Fe* may also be mentioned in this connection.

(3) Thirdly, the Inscription established the fact that suitable symbols were used to write down music,

(4) Fourthly this noted piece of music on rock, establishes that a system of musical notation existed at least three centuries before the advent of the tonic solfa notation. (*ut, ray, me, fa, sch, la, si*) started by Guide d' Arezzo for European Music came into existence. *Ut* gave place to *doh* later on. The Kuḍumiyāmalai music notation is an absolute notation in the sense that once the values of the notes are correctly understood, one can play the music, even though the rāgas mentioned therein are of the Sankīrṇa type and are archaic and now obsolete.

Notation

The four varieties of a note inclusive of one suddha and three vikrta varieties are represented by resorting to the vowel changes in the name of the note. The 4 varieties of shadja are denoted as *sa, si, su, se* and the four varieties of rishabha *ra, ri, ru, re,* and so on. For this idea of the four varieties of a note, the author was indebted to Bharata's experiment relating to the Dhruva Vīṇa and Chala Vīṇa.

In this cxperiment, 2 seven-stringed vīṇas identical in all respects and the seven strings of each being tuned to the notes of shadja grāma, are taken. One vīṇa is kept constant for reference and it is styled the Dhruva Vīṇa. In the other vīṇa, the Panchama string is suceessively reduced in pitch in four stages and, at each stage by an interval of a śruti. After each reduction the other six strings are also reduced by the same frequency so that the Chala vīṇa at the conclusion of each stage of reduction, will sound as shaḍja grāma, though its fundamental would have been reduced by 1, 2, 3, and 4 śrutis respectively. The rider given, that after each stage of reduction, the pitch of such and such a string of the Chala vīṇa, will be equal to the pitch of such and such a string of the Dhruva vīṇa, proves that the reduction in pitch in the four stages was successively by the intervals of a Pramāṇa śruti (81/80), Pūrṇa śruti (256/243). Nyūna śruti (25/24), and Pramāṇa śruti (81/80). This reduction from the Panchama string as a starting point, suggested to the author of the inscription, the nomenclature *pa pi pu pe*. After *sa* and *pa* became avikṛta svaras, the interval 40/27, lost its significance and the notes *pi pu* and *pe* came to denote the notes of frequencies 64/45, 45/32 and 27/20. On the analogy of

the varieties of the Panchama svara, he adopted the vowel for the other notes.

The notes *sa*, *si*, *su*, and *se*, cannot be taken as notes in the ascending order of pitch, since it will go against the idea that *sa* was on the fourth śruti. Thus *sa*, *si*, *su*, and *se* have to be taken as notes in the descending order of pitch and likewise for the other notes.

(a) Mahendravarman knew that only 22 śrutis were used. The six of the 28, were approximately duplicates of other śrutis. Since the notes of the shadja grāma were the niyata śrutis, he fixed the suddha solfa letters at the frequencies of the suddha svara saptaka and distributed the other śrutis logically.

If in the music of shadja grāma of the Kuḍumiyamalai inscription, one hears almost all the notes of an octave, it is because he combined it with another jāti and ushered a new jāti. It practically became an encyclopaedic scale.

The last phrase "*Eṭṭirkum Ezhirikum ivai uriya*" in Tamil simply means that the music given can be rendered in the tala taking 8 mātras for an avarta, or in the tala taking 7 mātras for an avarta. The total number of notes in the music of the Kaisiki section is 28 x 16 equal to 448. This number is divisible by both 7 and 8. We have parallel in the composition sapta tāla gītā, "*Gana vidya dhurandhara*" (Nata rāga), Wherein the gītā, composed in the Dhruva tāla, admits of being rendered in the other six tālas, Matya, Rūpaka, Jhampa, Triputa, Ata and eka. The kriti, *Samkari Samkuru* (Saveri Rāga) of Syama Sāstri admits of being rendered in Rūpaka tāla and in Ādi tāla (Trisra gati). Dvitāla pallavis also furnish an example. This Tamil statement cannot mean as capable of being played on an 8 stringed instrument and a 7 stringed instrument because, what can be played on a seven-stringed instrument can certainly be played on an eight-stringed instrument.

(b) Mahendra Varman was a creative genius and a Vichitra chitta is amply borne out by this inscription.

(c) The music of the inscription is a technical exercise and was intended to develop the finger technique in vīṇa play.

The music reminds us of the ancient alankārās of a particular pattern. Successive semitones like the Gharussruti dhaivata and Suddha dhaivata and Chatussruti rishabha and Suddha rishabha occur, which is not unusual in modern music.

(d) The music was intended to be played on the Parivādini, a seven-stringed vīṇa of the time.

ANALYSIS OF THE INSCRIPTION

1.	Madhyama grāma	5 Rows
2.	Shaḍja grāma	7 ,,
3.	Shāḍava	4 ,,
4.	Sādharita	5 ,,
5.	Panchama	6 ,,
6.	Kaisiki Madhyama	4 ,,
7.	Kaisiki	7 ,,

Major rāgas are represented by more rows of svaras. Thus there are 38 rows. There are 16 sets of 4 swaras i.e., 64 swaras in all, in each row.

(e) Although arithmetically, there are the 7x4 = 28 notes, yet six of them lose their individuality on the plea of merger. Thus only 22 srutis are actually used. A modern parallel is the sixteen names for the 12 swarasthānas of the octave. For example the note shatsruti and sadharana ga belong to one and the same swarasthana.

(f) The notes antara ga and kakali ni also occur in music. Some of the shadja grāma rāgas used these notes. A modern survival of this practice is seen in the Anandabhairavi rāga of South Indian Music. It is a sa grama rāga, but uses the foreign notes antara ga and kakali ni.

(g) The colophon indicates that the music was composed for the benefit of learners by the king, who was a disciple of Rudrachārya. The word Parivadini da in Tirumayyam inscription gives the clue. 'It means to learn the technique of Parivadini play i.e., பரிவாதினி கற்க. There are many dāṭu prayogas amongst the phrases which can easily by played on contiguous strings. The tāna phrases substantially reflect the basic rāga but here and there, phrases suggestive of other rāgas are

dexterously introduced. Combinational jātis are referred to in the later work *Sangita ratnakara.* All the notes in the Inscription are hrasva swaras and their compass is confined to two octaves. In the Parivādini, only this range was possible. The phrases are illustrative of the sthāyi, ārōhi, avarōhi and sanchāri varnas of ancient music. The inscription is a miniature Kaṭakam. The inscription stands as the earliest example of a recorded study in the history of world music.

The dots in the inscription are used to denote two things. In some cases, they indicate that the note is not sounded in its svasthāna but in an anya sthāna, above or below. This is a fact that holds good even in modern music. In a few cases the dot indicates the particular manner of graced utterance.

Some historians are of opinion that the Inscription belongs to the 9th century and was inscribed by a later king and not by Mahendravarman I. Whatever it be, the value of the Inscription is not affected even if it was inscribed in the 9th century.

THE DURGAH OF NAGORE

AND

THE CULTURE OF THE TAMIL MUSLIMS

BY

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Nagore is famous for the durgah[1] of Shahulhameed *alias* Meeran Sahib Qudarwali.[2] Nearly a lakh of people come by train alone during the Kanthuri[3] (festival) of the durgah from far and near. There is no place holier than this for the Muslims of Tamil Nadu. It is believed by the Muslims that seven visits to Nagore durgah is equivalent to the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca which is one of the five religious injunctions of Islam. Shahulhameed alias Meeran Sahib is believed to have lived in the latter half of the sixteenth century.[4] According to Burhan's Tazukhi Walajahi (an early nineteenth century work), the saint reached Deccan with the permission of his mentor Sayyid

1. Durgah, (Per-dargāh) properly a royal court. But the habitual use of the word in India is for the shrine of a muslim saint, a place of religious resort and prayer.

2. The Common Arabic term for a saint is Wali (Plu. Auliya) It implies one who is near, a friend of God (Sura X 63) It is usually applied to living saints, but is very generally employed of the dead. The term is also used in a secondary sense for the tombs of the saints - See *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 63.

3. Kanduri (Per), a feast or ceremony observed in honour of holy personages. See *The New Royal Persian English Dictionary*, 1932, p. 336; *Persian Dictionary* Khithab Shamshul-laquat, p. 181. The Kanduri festival of Nagore durgah is so wellknown that both the *Tamil lexicon* and *Jubilee Tamil Dictionary* say that Kanduri is the annual festival held at Nagore in honour of the saint Miran Sahab See *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. II, p. 718; *Jubilee Tamil Dictonary*, 1935, p. 256.

4. Arnold T. W., The *preaching of Islam*, p. 267; Quadiar Hussain Khan, *South Indian Musalmans*, pp. 36, 38. Both the authors assign (1532 - 1600) for the saint.

Mohammad Ghawth of Gwalior and reached Nagore after visiting Nathar Awlia in Natharnagar (Trichinopoly).[5] There are numerous biographies of the saint and his miracles, in Tamil, Persian, Urdu and Arabic. The most fomous and popular among them is written by Gulam Khadir nāvalar in 1889 called 'Kanjul Karamat' in Tamil.[6]

It is interesting to know that in the entire coromandel coast there is hardly a town or village where there is no grave of a Muslim saint and invariably, the Muslim saint is associated with the sea—either a great admiral or a saviour of distressed sailors or, a body washed ashore by the waves and buried by the Muslims.[7] One is tempted to assume that they might have been real characters who fought against the Portuguese and died and so treated as martyers, in the great conflict between the cross and the crescent, by the Muslims or this may be an allegoric representation of Arab defeat at the hands of the Portuguese.

No one can deny the fact, that Islam had been spread both in north and south India by great missionaries also. It must not be thought that the Muslim preachers were organised for their propaganda work in any modern way. Usually they have been individuals endowed with piety and religious zeal who through their own personal interest in the spread of Islam and inspired with a divine call, have been content to wander

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5. Nainar S. M. H., *Tuzkhi Wallajahi*, I, p. 60. Trichinopoly was named Natharnagar after Nathar Awlia as Tanjore was named Kadar Nagar after Kadarwali of Nagore] during the period of the Nawab of Arcot. See Srinivasachari, C. S., *Vignettes from the History of Walajahi Dynasty of Carnatic*, Part I. and II, p. 4.

6. Ganj=treasure; Karamath=miracle. Kanjulkaramath=A treasure of miracles. There are two Kayfiats in Modi composed in 1817 in Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras bearing numbers D 107 and D 108. They give the Hijira year 865 as the date of arrival of Saint Shahul Hameed at Nagore. Another work Jawahirul Hamsa written by Assheik Mohamad Ghouse Gwaliari who is supposed to be the mentor of the saint also does not give any information about the saint and his time.

7. The same kind of stories are related of the origin of coastal shrines in northern India also. "*Pir Badr*" the saint whose shrine is at Chittacong is believed to have reached there "floating". For further details See *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 559.

from place to place and gather disciples. But, for the history of Muslim Missions, there is a remarkable poverty of material, since Muslim literature is singularly poor in those records of conversions that occupy such a large place in the literature of the Christian Church. The story of the spread of Islam by the sword, has been told so repeatedly, that it is not easy for the casual reader of history to realise that its followers ever employed any other method. Throughout the history of Islam in India, the missionary or itinerant preacher has been a relatively important factor. These preachers realised the necessity, if not the ultimate desirability, of spreading Islam in India apart from the assistance of Islamic state. It is strange that Islam has gained its greatest and most lasting missionary triumphs in times and places in which its political power has been weakest.[8]

It is quite likely that Shahul Hameed was one of the great preachers of Islam in South India. Tradition has it that the saint converted many Hindus and that, Muslims in large numbers came and settled down at Nagore. Many miracles are attributed to him. Even before the saint's arrival, there were Arab preachers like Syyed Mubarak Waliyullah and Mohamad Sadiq Ibnu Masud. There are two graves believed to be the graves of those Arab preachers.

Contemporary literature and travelogues have no reference, either to the saint or to the durgah. A close observer and missionary like Baldaeus and a serious and matter of fact traveller, like Nienhoff and William Methwald would not have missed the durgah of such a great man, if it had been a very popular one. They speak of the China tower, which was nothing but a dilapidated remnant of a structure and the miraculous beginning of it, but not of the durgah. Later travellers like Manucci and Lord Valentia are silent about the existence of the durgah and the popularity of the saint. It must be remembered that saint Shahul Hameed is believed to be a contemporary of Saint Francis Xavier. If there had been any conflict between these two saints in their proselytising activities, it would have been mentioned in the letters of St. Francis Xavier. His letters do not contain a word about the saint

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8. Negapatam region as part of the kingdom of Tanjore was never under Muslim rule except for a very short period.

Shahul Hameed and his activities. It might be due to Saint Francis Xavier's indifference to the Muslim saint, naturally born out of mutual jealousy.

The tradition and Kanjulkaramat have it, that the saint came to Nagore during the period of Achyutappa Nayak of Tanjore and cured him of a serious disease and blessed him with a child and that was the beginning of the contact between the royal family of Tanjore and the durgah. There seems to be no record for this. Contemporary literature, particularly *Rahunāthabhyudayam* of Rāmabadrāmba (a poetess of the court of Raghunatha Nayak, son of Achyutappa Nayak) *Sahityaratnākara* of Yagnanārāyana Dikshita (a scholar and pupil of Raghunatha Nayak) *Sangita Suda*, a work by Raghunatha himself and *Achutarāyābhyudayam* of Dindima, which speak of Achyudaraya and his achivements, do not mention the fact of Achyuta's having been cured of a disease by a saint or the great respect and regard the Nayak had for the saint. But a little imagination and historic sense will solve the problem. The Nayak kings are known for their Catholicity and Charity and many mosques and durgah's are endowed by them.[9] Among the Nayaks of Tanjore, Achyutappa and his son Raghunatha were the most illustrious rulers. Achyutappa Nayak was never intolerant towards Muslims, though his son had led troops against Muslim rulers.[10] Besides, Achyutappa Nayak was known for his hostility towards the Portuguese. the great enemies of the local Muslims. The *Sahityaratnakara* speaks of his victory over the Portuguese.[11] The defeat of the Portuguese by the Nayak at Negapatam perhaps was the beginning of the hostilities between the Nayaks and the Portuguese. The methods adopted by the Portuguese in converting the people of the country to Christianity and their generally bad treatment of the natives, had made them very unpopular. There are evidences to show that Achyutappa Nayak was highly religious and had an ascetic streak in him even from his boyhood.[12] He was for a long time without a child and he did

9. Vriddhagirisan, (*op. cit. Nayaks of Tanjore*, pp. 32, 33.)

10. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, Canto VIII. Sloka 43-70 ; Canto VII, Sloka 63.

11. *Sāhityaratnākara*, Canto X, Sloka 68.

12. *Sangita Suda*, Introduction by Govinda Dikshita,

penance before Raghunatha was born.[13] Towards the end of his career he abdicated the throne in favour of his son. Father Pimenta who passed through the Tanjore country says, that Achyutappa 'has lately renounced the world and prepared himself for death.'[14] The Sāhityaratnākara says that Achyutappa retired after his abdication to Srirangam where he spent the rest of his days in the company of pandits.[15] Towards the end of his life Achyutappa was plagued by many troubles caused by the rise of a powerful chief Sōlaga who was a subordinate of the Ginjee Nayak and the ruler of Kottaitivu situated at the mouth of the Coleroon and also by the Portuguese. These troubles must have considerably taxed his failing health. To crown all, the great emperor of Vijayanagara, Venkatapathyrāya whose faithful feudatory Achyutappa Nayak was, died leaving the throne to be disputed by two parties in a terrible civil war. According to Sāhityaratnākara Achyutappa's abdication was necessitated by political circumstances. The Muslim missionaries were generally not only well versed in Koran, but were also great Hakims or physicians and masters in occult sciences. All the above mentioned facts might have combined, to create the tradition that the sick Achyutappa Nayak was cured of his disease and blessed with a child by the saint of Nagore.

The hagiology of Muslims in India is abundant and diversified which is probably due to the Hindu influence. As in all hagiographic literature, we find not only that historical personages have been canonized, but that lengends have grown up around names for which there is no authentic record. It is not always possible to decide whether a saint associated with a holy spot had existed or not. The belief that the saints have not left any issues and the names given them such as Sidi Mimum (My Lord Good Luck), Sidi Bukarma (My Lord the master of the fig tree) Sidi Burja (My Lord the master of hope) suggest their legendary origin. A very popular name for a dead saint is Sidi-i-Mahfi (My Lord the Hidden one or unknown). Sometimes it is said of a holy place that a saint is buried there, although nobody knows his

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13. *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, Canto VI, Sloka 29 to 51 *Sahityaratnakara*, Canto IV.

14. Heras, (*op. cit. Aravidu*,) p. 399; Purchas His pilgrimes. X, p. 219,

15. *Sāhityaratnakara*, Canto X, Sloka 55.

name. Though the saint of Nagore is given many names he is popularly known as Nagoor Āndavar. Not many know his names. The fact that he left no issues also suggests a legendary origin.

But there is no doubt the Marātha kings of Tanjore has great respect for the memory of the saint. Pratāpsingh (1739–1763) endowed the durgah with fifteen villages.[16] One can speculate how far the endowment is due to the influence of Sayyid who was a king-maker in the Marātha Court of Tanjore. "He was a ruthless Musalman, whimsical and self-willed in extreme. A great lover of power, he could set up and depose kings at will, on account of the army he had under his control. For four years he was the *defacto* ruler."[17] The durgah must have been an insignificant structure before the time of Pratāpsingh. The records call him the "founder of the mosque (durgah) at Nagore."[18] Though Nagore belonged to the British, Pratāpsingh had such control over the durgah and its possession, as if "the Tanjore flag was still flying at Nagore"[19] and he appointed the superintendant of the durgah. Pratapsingh also constructed a minaret.[20] It was constructed in eleven stages. The British used the minaret as a flag staff for sometime. But soon "the mosque of Nagore being held in particular veneration, the Rāja expressed his wish that signal flags might not be hoisted upon it in future."[21] The successors of Pratāpsingh were carrying on the tradition of looking after the interests of the durgah. The Modi and Tamil records in Saraswathi Mahal Library at Tanjore contain accounts of their charitable and devotional deeds.[22] The presence of the durgah was an important factor in the communal amity of the time of the Maratha kings.[23] The

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16. Rangachari, *Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency* (Tanjore District), No. 893 A and B.
17. Subramaniam, K. S. *op. cit. The Marātha Kings of Tanjore*, p. 49.
18. T. D. R. Vol. 3396, Letter to Tollofild from Sullivan, Tanjore dated 11th Sept, 1785.
19. *Ibid.*
20. No. B 293 of ARE. 1963-64.
21. T. D. R. Vol. 3396 Letter to Cochrane from Sullivan, July 9th, 1783.
22. Bundle No. 187C, p. 2; bundle 104C, p. 9.
23. *The Journal of the Tanjore Maharaja Serfojee*, Saraswati Mahal Library. Vol. XXI, No. 1, p. 28.

Muslims and the non-Muslims vied with one another, as they do now, in their devotion to the saint. The comparative absence of communal trouble in the region might be attributed to the shrine. It was noted by a Madras Governor. "The durgah is also one of its kind in this country where people of all classes, castes and races worship as brethern of the same faith. It is remarkable that there have been few misunderstanding of any sort between worshippers at the mosque."[24] It is no wonder that a Hindu Muthuswamy Pillai was the mudestum (headman, overseer) of the durgah for some time.[25] Though Nagore and Negapatam were in possession of the British, the Tanjore Rājās did not fail to instruct them to treat the devotees of the saint with respect.[26] Even now the decendants of the Rājās of Tanjore play an important part in the Kanthuri festival of the durgah.

As the durgah became famous, it drew the attention of more and more devotees—Muslims and non-Muslims from far the near. There is an inscription on the northern side of the tower in the durgah, to the effect that it was ercted by one Daudkhan an immigrant from Shajahanpur in the vicinity of Delhi.[27] Naturally the income of the durgah increased and the so called decendants of the adopted son of the saint, shared the income. The riches of the durgah drew the attention of an avaricious man like the French general Lally.[28] He plundered the durgah. When the French soldiers got near the tomb of the saint we are told by the Muslim historian that the tomb was saved by a miracle of the saint.[29] The popularity of the durgah increased with the passage

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24. The third tour of Lord Ampthill, 1901, p. 339. Extracts from the Mail.
25. T.D.R., Vol. 3331, p. 63.
26. T.D.R., Vol. 3268, pp. 182-183.
27. No. 162 of ARE 1963-64.
28. Ananda Ranga Pillai, *Diary*, Vol. XI, p. 290 dated July 11th, 1758.
29. Lally "first laid his tyrannical hand on the town of Nagore with his designs on Tanjore. By plundering the lamps, quilts, carpets and other things of decoration, from the shrine of his holiness Hazrat Sayyid Abdul Qādir Sāhib Nāgūri (May Allah purify his glorious resting place) and committing all kinds of sacrilegious acts in that holy place, he lost the strength of success from his hand .. In brief the army of M. Lally laid its hands on things belonging to the durgah and immediately got punishment. As soon as two or three men

of time. It is apt to quote Lyall here. "In India whatever be the original reason for venerating a deceased man, his upward course towards deification is the same. At first we have the grave of one whose name, birth place and parentage are well known in the district ; if he died at home, his family often set up a shrine, install themselves in possession and realise a handsome income out of the offerings; they become the hereditary keepers of the sanctuary if the shrine prospers and its virtues stand test or if the man wandered abroad, settled near some village or sacred spot, became renowned for his austerity or his affilication and died there, the neighbours think it great luck to have the tomb of a holyman, within their borders and the landlord administers the shrine by memorial right. It the course of very few years as the recollection of the man's personality become misty, his origin grows mysterious, his carrier takes a legendary line, his birth and death were both supernatural ....."[30] No wonder many competed with each other in claiming descent from the saint[31] and the government had to interfere not only in establishing the claim, but also in the administration of the durgah.[32] When the income of the durgah increased with its popularity, it led to misappropriation of the money[33] by the people incharge and the government had to interfere and appoint commitees, to manage the affairs of the durgah.[34] Some of the later Maratha kings were not well disposed towards the Muslims.[35] Taking advantage of this some

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from among the plunderers placed their feet into the interior of the durgah, they began to vomit blood and died there. On seeing this strange incident others refrained from plundering, returned the looted things, came out of that holy place in great confusion and took their way to Tanjore" (Burhan's *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*) (Second Part) II, pp. 196-197.

30. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*. London, 1899, p. 29.
31. T.D.R. Vol. 3283, p. 233 ; Vol. 3179, p. 131. Letter from Ellis, Secretary, Fort St. George, to Collector of Tanjore dated 23rd Dec. 1802.
32. T.D.R. 3274, p. 9. Letter of Board of Trade from Wallace, Collector of Tanjore, dated 15th Feb. 1814.
33. T.D.R. 3416, p. 48. Letter of Blackburne, Resident, Tanjore to Raja Serfojee dated 19th July, 1802, Tanjore.
34. T.D.R. 3234, pp. 64-65. Letter of Collector Grant, Board of Revenue dated 7th July, 1798.
35. T.D.R. 3496, p. 69; 3495 Letter to the Officer Commanding Tanjore, dated 20th Feb. 1809 Trivady.

of their servants who were jealous of the increased income of the durgah interfered, perhaps without the knowledge of the king, in the administration of the durgah.[36] But on receipt of complaints the abuse was rectified. The durgah feasts were performed with the paddy from the durgah lands.[37] The people connected with the durgah—the so called successors of the saint inhabited the durgah and maintained themselves with the paddy from the lands of the durgah.[38]

During 1790–1817, a gradual control over the religious institutions by the government can be seen from the laws enacted by the British.[39] The ultimate result was the passing of the Regulation VII of 1817, which, for the first time gave the East India Company power of superintendence over the religious institutions.[40] "The Collectors were authorised to require from superintendents of all endowed institutions and religious and charitable endowments, full information in respect to the revenue and expenditure of such institutions..."[41] Thus the Company gradually assumed responsibilities of collecting revenues of religious institutions and arbitrated in the disputes. In 1934 and 1938 attempts were made to create a separate Board for the Muslim endowment.[42] The Wakf Act, by which the Muslim religious institutions including Nagore durgah are governed came into existence in 1954.[43]

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36. T.D.R. 3411, p. 95 Letter of Blackburne Resident, Tanjore dated 31st March, 1810.
37. T.D.R. 3416, p. 150 Letter of Serfojee Rāja to Blackburne, dated 23rd May 1803.
38. T.D.R. Vol. 3416, p. 159 Letter from Serfojee to Blackburne, 2nd June 1803.
39. Board of Revenue Consultations 12th Jan. 1789, Vol. 24, p. 70; 7th March 1808, vol. 460, p. 1435; 12th Jan. 1815, vol. 666, p. 708.
40. Chandra Mudaliar, *State and Religious endowments*, (Madras University thesis) p. 27.
41. T.D.R. 4221, p. 179 (Revenue Department) Letter to Principal Collector of Tanjore from Secretary, Revenue Board Office, 24th October, 1833; T.D.R. Vol. 4238, p. 26.
42. G.O. 882 Law (Legislature) dated 17-2-1934; G.O. 4025 Education and Public Health dated 10.11.1938.
43. Parliamentary debates—The House of the People dated 12.3.1954, Vol. III, p. 2043.

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The property belonging to Nagore durgah is managed by a scheme, according to which the eldest male descendants of the eight sons of the foster son of the great saint, are the hereditary trustees. They have to select one among them as managing trustee once in three years. There is an advisory board of eleven members, three of whom are elected by the Board of Trustees among themselves, three elected by the Kāśupaṅgudārs among themselves, and five nominated by the Court from Muslims within the limit of Nagapattinam Municipality. The members of the Board, will hold office for three years. They will elect among themselves one, as president of the Board. The budget prepared for each year shall be considered by the advisory board. There is a manager who is in charge of the day to day affairs.[44] Under the control of the durgah, the following items are maintained (1) Kilavanjoor durgah at Kilavanjoor where the saint is believed to have sat for forty days (2) Yahussain Palli (within the durgah premises) (3) Sillai durgah near the shore, where the saint used to have his shave and stayed for peace of mind (4) Madar Maraikkar Palli (within the durgah premises (5) Diwan Sahib Palli (within the durgah premises) and (6) Durgah Madarasa.

The layout of the durgah without the minarets, is strongly suggestive of a Hindu temple. The tank attached to the durgah makes the suggestion stronger. Durgahs are not associated with tanks, though ablution pits with water are common. But not many temples are without tanks. There is an ablution tank inside the durgah. Durgahs are not wanting in South India, that are suggestive of Hindu architecture.[45]

The Kanthrūi festival generally lasts for twelve days. People flock from far and near. Nearly 5 lakhs of people come.[46] Special arrangements are made by the Municipality against breaking out of epidemics. Lodging houses and hotels are full during the festival. Some of the Sāhabmārs supposed to be the

44. The Register Book — Wakf Board Office, Madras.

45. Pate, *Tinnevelly Gazeteer*, I, p. 360; *Madras Dist. Gazeteer, Anantapur*, Vol. I pp. 193-4 (Madras 1905); Arnold, *op. cit.* p. 268.

46. M. P. L. Health Officers report to the Director of Public Health H. 1/7952/67 dated 13-12.67; H. 1/13247/66 dated 19.10.66; H. 1/12427/65 dated 12.9.65.

descendants of the saint, entertain paying guests in their houses. This system must have been of immense help to pilgrims at a time when hotels and lodging houses were unknown to the place. Most of the ceremonies take place at night. On the ninth day evening, a fakir is made to sit motionless in the durgah and to remain so for 36 hours. The Tanjore Muslims have the right of choosing this fakir. He is richly rewarded for his performance. The durgah, like other important institutions of the kind in South India is visited during the festival by delegates from Babayya durgah at Penukonda in the Anantapur district, who are honourably received. "The ceremony of the motionless fakir appears to have been borrowed from the festival at Penukonda." [47]

The influence of Hinduism on Islam, is an interesting subject for study in this connection. It is the Dravidian form of worship, which has appealed to the Muslims of south India. The reason for this is, that most of them are converts from Dravidian beliefs. But the belief in saints and the worship of their shrines and tombs by the Muslims of India, is not peculiar to Indian Islam. In fact this came readymade to India along with the Afghans, Persians and others. But it well suited the heritage of the majority of the Muslims, who were converts from Hinduism.

The orthodox Muslims claim, that what is accorded the saint is not worship. After all the Quran and the Sunna, recognise the

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47. Baliga B.S., *Tanjore District Hand Book*. It is difficult to establish any contact between saint Babayya and the saint of Nagore. Saint Babayya is believed to have lived a long time before the saint of Nagore and a contemporary of Saint Natharwali of Trichinopoly (969-1039, *Madras District Gazeteers Trichinopoly* I, p. 338, Madras 1907; Arnold *op. cit.* p. 267). But it is strange, that another saint who is supposed to lie buried at Dharmavaram, not far from Penukonda was known as Kadarwali. He is believed to have lived and died in the eighteenth century. Like the saint of Nagore, he is also said to have died issueless and, the Kandhūri of the saint as that of the saint of Nagore falls in November. (*Census of India*, 1961, Vol. II. Andhrapradesh, part VII B (10), pages 100, 120, 121.

There is a tradition that the saint of Nagore visited places in South India like Tenkasi, Melapalayam etc. even now the Muslim strongholds. In these places the Kandhuri is celebrated in the memory of the saint at the same time when it is celebrated at Nagore. In Melapalayam a big minaret as tall as any of the toward at Nagore durgah constructed in the 19th century is believed to mark the place where the saint stayed during his visit to the place.

intercession on the part of those favoured by Allah and, there is no cult of saints beyond the permissible, seeking their help as mediators with God. This argument is understandable by the intelligent, but the majority of unthinking Muslims regard the Wali as being a proper object of worship and in himself the source of blessings. It naturally comes into conflict with the fundamental concept of the unity of God in Islam and leads to the association of other objects with Him in worship. The effect of the Wali cult has been to foster superstition and belief in magic among the ignorant classes.[48]

The cult of local saints can often be shown to be the survival of an earlier faith, which has passed on into Islam under another guise. In South India, every village has its own local gods to take care of the people—to repel famine and evil spirits causing pestilence. These deities under Muslim influence are often superseded or absorbed by the local saints, who are supposed to perform the same functions as were performed by the godheads of the earlier faith. In many instances there is no doubt that the shrine of a Muslim saint marks the site of some local cult, which was practised on the spot long before the introduction of Islam.[49] Transforming a local cult to harmonise with a new faith or the spirit of a time is easy in south India. The transformation of Chokkanatha and Meenakshi, the local god and goddess, into Shiva and his spouse and a demon of the thief caste, Alagar, into Meenakshi's brother, is an example.[50] It is seldom possible to find any historical foundation for legends about the saints.[51]

The influence of Hinduism can be seen in the rituals of ceremonies connected with the Muslim saints. The festivals connected with the Kandūri at Nagore, strongly reminds one of the festivals connected with Hindu deities, particularly the festival of Car pulling. The Census of India 1911, Vol. XII, Part I, para 40 says: " whether from design or from the insensible

48. But it must be remembered that saint worship is not peculiar to India alone. It is prevalent all over the Islamic world.

49. Stein - *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, London, 1900, I. p. 249.

50. Elmore, *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism*, pp. 83-84.

51. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXIV, 1855, p. 239; *Calcutta Review*, IX, 1875, p. 781.

influence of environment, there can be no doubt that certain compromises now exist in Madras between Hinduism and Mohammadanism. Propitiation of disease godlings, worship of patron saints and local deities, veneration of relics, practisings of the black art, divination of the future, Hindu ceremonies at birth and death; all practices satirized by the poet Hali abound throughout the presidency and, render the stern simplicity of Islam, more attractive to its rural followers."[52] Certainly, many elements that are retained from the earlier beliefs are attractive to the Muslims. Any interference with the festivals connected with the saints and shrines or their abolition, not only creates out-burts but also tends to lessen the interest of the Muslims in their religion. An attempt by the Puritans of Islam in East Africa, to rid the drum beating and music from the ceremonies connected with shrines, led to the non-appreciation of Islam by the Muslims in East Africa, for whom drum beating and music was part of their culture.[53] James Hastings is very very pessimistic about any reform in Islam in modern world, "The attempt to check saint worship has been a failure nor will it ever succed, as long as Islam continues to be what it has been for 900 years past.[54]

It is unfortunate, that Islam has gone through much distortions and alterations, especially in the peripheric groups. The worship of saints and pilgrimage, to their tombs obviously constitute, a rather unorthodox practice in a monotheistic religion. These festivals and pilgrimages have become a recreation for most of these Muslims. Muslims of progressive views, have launched programmes, to rid Islam of its unnecessary un-Islamic accretions. It is undrstandable that in the face of the development and spread of modern science and technology, Islam like Christianity and Buddhism, is seeking to delve once more into its basic teachings, in order to see whether it is perfectly compatible with whatever has been brought to light, by recent discovery and invention.

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52. Crooke, William, *Things Indian*, p. 337; Cazeteer of Madura District I, p. 80 for the same tendencies.

53. Trimgham, Spencer J, *Islam in East Africa*, Oxford, 1964, p. 101.

54. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 64.

THE LIBRARY SCIENCE: THE TRADITION OF TAMILS

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O ABSTRACT OF THE PAPER

This paper attempting to show that the Elements of Llibrary Science exist in Tamil

1 Indicates the standard for a book through Tholkāppiyam Nannūl, Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam etc.;

2 Traces literary evidence from Nālaṭiyār, Manimēkalai etc., with inscriptional evidence from Srirangam, Chidambaram etc. for the existence of library;

3 Describes the work of librarian through inscriptions available at Sēranmahādevi and Conjeevaram;

4 Shows the use of classification for arranging Caṅkam works and innovation of Prof. Sundaram Pillai regarding the classification of Universe of knowledge in Tamil;

5 Analyses the Fundamental categories—(1) Personality, (2) Matter, (3) Energy, (4) Space and (5) Time—in the subject matter of Caṅkam classics based on Tholkāppiyar's classification;

6 Highlights the mnemonics used by early Tamils;

7 Explains the simple method of cataloguing prevalent in those ancient days to help the laymen ; and

8 Requests Librarians to do some research, to trace the elements of library science in their own languages, to further the progress of library science and library service in the country.

1 INTRODUCTION

11 Tamil

Tamil is one of the classical languages of the world. It has come down to us from the time immemorial. Its abundance in literature, language, and other sciences makes every one, seeing it for the first time, feel awe and wonder as it had not been made known to the world in its perspective so far.

12 Library Science

Library Science is a recent science. There are certain people who doubt whether the term Science can be added to the term Library. But anybody who has got a knowledge of scientific method and patience to see how the practices of library work are being developed on the basis of scientific method will accept this terminology. A discussion of this will be found in "Chapter 8 Scientific method, Library Science and march of Digvijaya" in Five laws of library science Ed. 2 1957 by Dr. S. R. Ranganathan [19].

13 Antithesis

As such, it may appear strange rather contradistinction to discuss the elements of a recent science like Library Science in a classical language like Tamil. But truth is stranger than fiction. Nobody needs to get alarmed or rather wonder when we say that library science does exist in Tamil. It has been practised for long time by us.

14 Humble Attempt

But it was not made clear as no librarian with knowledge of Library Science and knowledge of Tamil has taken pains to analyse, interpret and explain the same to the people so far. Now a humble attempt is made to throw some light on the problem [30].

2 BOOK

21 WHAT IS A BOOK ?

A book is a written message of considerable length, meant for public circulation and recorded on materials that are light, yet durable enough to afford comparatively easy portability. As such, the book transcends space and time to announce, to expound, and to preserve and transmit knowledge. It has secured the preservation and dissemination of ideas in every literate society [12].

22 POSITION OF TAMILS

One of the great discoveries in Mohanjodāro and Hārāppa have established beyond doubt that the Tamil civilization is the oldest and the richest. So, it is but natural to expect a clear account regarding the book—a standard for a book—from the writings of the Tamils. For want of time, only three leading works (1) Tholkāppiyam of Tholkāppiyar; (2) Nannūl of Pavaṇandhi and (3) Ilakkaṇa Viḷakkam of Vaidyanatha Dēsikar have been taken for scrutiny as they deal elaborately with the problem involved in this paper [32].

23 VIEW OF TOLKAPPIYAR

Tholkāppiyar who might have lived between 1000 B.C. and 600 B.C. is the author of Tholkāppiyam. Tholkāppiyam is a monumental work in Tamil. It deals with the science of language and literature mainly and thereby gives a vivid picture of the book [13].

231 Composition

The poets who know the nature of *yappu* (composition) say that *yappu* is the form which is used to express the conceived idea fully in the line, formed of letters and other elements (Verse 1335).

232 Elements of Composition

1 unit of time
2 the nature of letter
3 the kind of syllable
4 binding foot
5 line
6 connection
7 technique
8 note
9 rhyme
10 grace

Elements of Composition—(*contd.*)

11 tune
12 limit
13 genus
14 idealism
15 kind of speech
16 audience
17 place
18 division of time
19 effect
20 *meyppādu*
21 what is left to be understood
22 intention
23 subject
24 theme
25 interlink
26 melody
27 *ammai*
28 *alaku*
29 *thonmai*
30 *thōl*
31 *virunthu*
32 *iyaipu*
33 *pulan*
34 *ilaipu*

are said to be the elements of the composition by great renowned poets, who have classified and described them distinctively (1259).

233 Eight kinds of Composition

The poetry, the prose, the systematic treatise, the book of morals, the book of riddles, the book of satire and the book of proverbs—these are the forms of compositions in vogue within the four frontiers of the fertile Tamilnadu ruled by the three kings of great renown—say the poets. *Virunthu* is the verse which speaks of new ideas in the new way (1336, 1495).

2331 Poetry

The technique of composition of poetry is the form codified by the scholars conforming to the use of different elements of composition (1337–1419).

2332 Prose

They say that *urai vakai* (prose composition) is of four kinds which are:

1 the verse and prose being intermixed;
2 the exposition of the meaning of the verses in an elaborate manner;
3 the imaginary story of continuous narration without traditional background; and
4 the tale of wit and humour with moral import (1429).

2333 Nūl

The *nūl* (treatise) is said to be one which has the beginning and the end without being in contradistinction, the content being discussed collectively and separately in elaborate manner by means of subtle expressions (1422).

2334 Kuṟippu

The *kuṟippu* is, they say, that which suggests meaning other than what the words indicate plainly (1435).

2335 Pici

The *pici* is of two sorts which are the simile woven out of comparison and the allegory (1432).

2336 Satire

The satire is, if examined thoroughly, of two kinds which are *cemporuḷ* and *karanthathu*. *Cemporuḷ* is said to be open columny. If said with hidden meaning, it is called *paḻikarappu*.

The other kind of composition of satire deals with fault and income (of the king). It is said to be the composition of advice (1381–1386).

2337 Muthumoḻi

The *muthumoḻi* (proverb) is that which occurs to give expression to a particular idea with reason quoted in subtle short, bright and easy style. *Mandhiram* is the formula sworn in the name of great men whose words never fail (1433-1434).

2338 Virunthu

The *virunthu* is the verse which speaks of new ideas in the new way (1495).

234 Usage

Changes are not allowed in the idiomatic use of words in compositions which must go in accordance with the usage.

If the usage is affected by change, all the words will lost their meanings and become useless.

The usage starts from the learned, as the occurrence of it depends upon them (1590–1592).

235 Standard

The work written without deviating from the traditional procedure are of two levels which are styled *muthal* and *vaḻi* (1593).

2351 Muthal

The *muthual* is that which is written by one who is prominent in having the knowledge free from the influence of wordly activities (1594).

2352 Vaḻi

The *vaḻi* is said to be one which is adapted from the original work. It falls into four kinds. They are abridged, expanded, abridged as well as expanded and translated in accordance with the traditions of Tamil (1595–1597).

236 Commentary

The erudite scholars say that a treatise is one which contains the commentary for the verse and which is in accordance with the thirtytwo technical devices of good book and being without ten defects (1598).

When adding either short commentary or long one to the verses, the device of putting questions and answers and of refuting the wrong interpretation also may be appended to them in such a way as to make them perfectly clear (1599).

2361 Short Commentary

The short commentary is one which gives the meaning of the verses in a simple and clear way. To explain the verses clearly, illustrations and examples may be given elaborately (1601-1602).

2362 Long Commentary

The long commentary is one which gives all those which are indispensable to explain the meaning of the verse. The scholars say that it (long one) will contain asking and answering questions, clearing doubts by means of his (author's) work and authoritative works of others and establishing an ideal boldly (1603-1604).

237 Defects

If the work is not in accordance with the above said rules, it is to be considered as defective. They say that there will be

no defect in the works of pre-eminent scholars. Whether it is original or adaptive, there will be defects in the composition which is not written by erudite scholars.

The defects of work are, if examined perfectly, repetitions, contradiction, under-statement, over-statement, verbiage, confusion, diction being abhorrent to the ears, disparagement in a degraded language, establishment of his own pet ideas, being difficult to understand by any means and such others allied to them. Those, which lead to understand the opposite view, are to be considered as defective ones (1605–1609).

238 Kinds of Uththi

The different kinds of *uththis* if examined, are:

1. knowing what have been formulated;
2. keeping verses and chapters in order;
3. giving the total numbers;
4. pointing out the various divisions;
5. knowing by deduction from what is described;
6. completing what is not given from what is given;
7. changing the order of the previous statement;
8. putting together those which are related;
9. making a statement said in one place to be applicable to all places;
10. saying his own views;
11. maintaining the order;
12. accepting the views of others as his own;
13. safe-guarding what is said previously, and what is to be said afterwards;
14. saying that he would say in advance and that he has said already;
15. giving names of his own creations
16. being fluctuating in his formulations;
17. stating the conclusions reached by others;
18. quoting the saying of his predecessors;
19. having the best of many meanings;
20. having classified by means of given examples;
21. establishing his views after opposing the opposite views;

22 quoting the view of others ;
23 accepting the principles without knowing what they are ;
24 inserting some new theories between the related ones
25 making rules for the future ;
26 knowing what is meant by incomplete words ;
27 stating the views as given previously ;
28 bringing some rules to memory by means of related ones ;
29 putting forth the view which are to be understood by implication and ;
30 such others which are not said here, the occurrence of which may be thought over to be classified with the said ones in the book of the great ingenious poet. (1610)

2391 Parts of a Book

Ōththu

The *ōththu* is said to be one which has the allied subject discussed as the diamonds of sort is put in one group according to the view of learned scholars (1426).

Paṭalam

The *paṭalam* is one which deals with many subjects and their general feature (1427).

Pinṭam

The scholar of high language says that *Pinṭam* is one which has three parts (1428).

2392 Interpolation

In the works of hoary past, interplation are very common. It is so with Tolkāppiyam [14].

2393 Clarification

The verses 1424, 1426, 1427, 1593 to 1610 are said to be of that kind of interpolation. However, they add some clarification.

2394 More Details

The grammarians and literateures of the later period are not satisfied with the crisp definitions given regarding the contents of

the book by Tholkāppiyar. They wished to add some more details. To make the additions permanent, they interpolated their ideas into the already existing famous work Tholkāppiyam.

24 VIEW OF PAVANANDHI

241 Pavaṇandhi

On the other hand, the Grammarian Pavaṇandhi who is ascribed to the 13th century A.D. wishing to end the controversies raging in the field of grammar and regulate the course according to the need of the time to withstand the onslaught of the foreign influenee, rewrote the rules of grammer in his work Nannūl (15).

242 Nannūl

It is generally allowed by all who are at all conversant with Tamil literature that the Nannūl is perhaps the most philosophically and logically arranged grammar of any language in the world. Though, it is being studied as a grammar, its influence upon the Tamil scholars is impressive.

243 What is a Book

In the introductory part of the work, he details vividly the definition of a book. Here the very word 'Nūl' used for term 'Book' requires some explanation as given by the author.

2431 First Explanation

'Nūl' literally signifying a thread to work of a high order is explained in verse 24. The points of resemblance between the writing of a work and the component parts of the Tamil cotton-twisting machine are here brought forward to establish it. The cotton out of which thread is to be made may be compared with the words that compose the stanzas of a work; these stanzas again resemble the thread when twisted; the woman that twists the thread represents an author; her hand employed in turning the machine is analogous with an author's mouth; and pin by means of the rotation of which thread is twisted represents an author's mind. Thus the writing of a work and twisting of the thread are similar.

2432 Second Explanation

The world Nūl besides signigying a thread is also used to denote a ruler made of thread. The points of resemblance

therefore between this and a work are herein shown. As the unevenness of a rough timber may be removed by following the direction of a ruler, so that persual of good works, by doing away with the ignorance and evil prejudices of the mind, thereby smoothen all asperities and promotes soundness of reason (25).

244 Contents of a Book

Here the soul and subtle body of the Nūl is analysed.

If the nature of a classical work be analysed, it must consist of the following (4):

1 Its possession of two prefaces (1 to 3);
2 Its capability of holding a place in one of the three orders of works (5 to 9);
3 The advantages to be derived by the reader in respect of one or other of the four grand objects of men (10):
4 Its savouring of one or more of the seven principles of authorship (11);
5 Its independency of the ten faults to be avoided by every writer (12);
6 Its possession of ten beauties to be courted by author (13);
7 Its consistancy with the thirtytwo niceties, the neglect of which affords room for criticism (14);
8 Its division into ōththu, paṭalam and cūththiram (16 to 20); and
9 The description of its different commentaries (21–23).

2441 PREFACE

24411 What?

Preface is called by different names such as

1 Mukavurai—something explained as an introduction to the work;
2 Pathikam—introducing the work in ten stanzas;
3 Aṇinthurai—something recommendatory of a work;
4 Nūnmukam—something proemial;
5 Puṟavurai—telling something about the work from external sources;
6 Thanthurai—introducing the subject to the reader;
7 Puṇainthurai—explaining the subject with some thing new; and
8 Payiram—an introduction (1):

24412 Why ?

Although a work contains a thousand different ramfications, still, if destitute of prefaces, it is not considered as worthwhile (54). As painting to the stately edifice, as turret to a fortified town and as jewels to a beauteous woman, so the prefixing of well written preface is to a work (55).

24413 How ?

The prefaces are of two kinds namely (1) General and (2) Special.

244131 General Preface

The General preface is to describe the nature of a work, the character of its author, the manner in which it is to be used, the qualities of the user and his behaviour during learning (3).

244132 Special Preface

The special preface comprehends the following eight subjects :

(1) the name of the author, (2) his mode of writing (3) the place in which the work may be used, (4) the name of the work, (5) its position in the classics, (6) the subjects of which it treat, (7) those qualified to understand it, and (8) the advantage to be derived from its perusal (47).

There are also those who, in addition to the foregoing eight subjects, mention also the time in which a work was written, the assembly before which it was read and by which it was sanctioned and the cause that lead to its production (48).

24414 Naming

A work must receive its name from one or other of the following :

1 from the denomination of its primary works ;
2 the name of its author ;
3 the character of the metre in which it is written ;
4 its size ;
5 its subjects ;
6 from the name of its person ;
7 its nature ; or
8 a name may be given at the author's option.

24415 Kinds

There are four ways in which a work may be written :

1 by condensing what is already too profuse ;
2 by enlarging what is already too condensed ;
3 by a union of both these ; and
4 by translation (50).

24416 Competent Person

Those who may be called upon to write a special preface are:

1 the author's own tutor ;
2 his fellow-student ;
3 one of his own pupils ; or
4 a fit commentator :

24417 What by Others ?

Although a man explore sciences up to that time unknown, and write a work complicated and masterly, still it is not becoming that he praise himself.

24418 Where by Self ?

A man is allowed by the literati to praise himself under the following circumstances only: In an address to the king for support ; in course of conversation with those who do not seem to be aware of his worth ; when seeking to overthrow the opposite party in controversy and when railed at for ignorance.

2442 Three Orders

The works are of three orders namely Primary or Original, Supplemental or Secondary and Deductive or Explanatory (5).

24421 Primary

Of these, those works are styled Primary, that are the original productions of an unsophisticated understanding (6).

24422 Supplemental

Those writings are called supplemental which derive their subjects only from the principles or conclusions of primary works, the author being at liberty to illustrate the same in his own way and with such deviations and exceptions as he may deem subservient to his object (7).

24423 Deductive

Deductive works are those the material of which have their rise in ideas suggested by the perusal of the above named two species of writings, but the method of treatment is to be particular (8).

44424 Honouring the Authorities

Both as a proof of the veneration in which the author holds, not only the subjects, but also the words of his authorities as well for the purpose of avoiding the imputation of being singular in sentiments, an author should make no scruple to quote their language anon (9).

2443 Four Objects

The ultimate object to be aimed at in every work must be one or the other of the following:

1 the development of the path to virtue;
2 the exhibition of means of procuring wealth;
3 the display of sources whence worldly felicity may be derived; and
4 the making known the road to Heaven (10).

2444 Seven Principles

The seven principles of authorship are:

1 agreement with;
2 renunciation of the opinion of others;
3 a conditional or circumstantial reception of other's tenets in the absence of better authority a neutrality;
4 the enunciation of any genuine and novel discovery and the establishment of it by elucidation, proof, or argument, whenever it may recur;
5 the maintaining one or other of two contrary opinions by;
6 exposing the fallacies of the opposite party; and
7 a strict adherence to one's sentiments (14).

2445 Ten Faults

The ten faults to the avoided by every author are;

1 conciseness; 2 perspicuity;

3 agreeableness of style;
4 the use of duly authorised words;
5 melodiousness of numbers;
6 profoundity of thought;
7 too great simplicity;
8 respect for standard authorities and the avoidance of perplexities.
9 sterling worthiness of subject matter and
10 conspicuousness of adduced examples (13).

2447 Thirtytwo Niceties

Niceties signifies literally that power or capability of the mind whereby it dives into and makes itself acquainted with the nature or connexion of things (15).

The thirtytwo niceties, the neglect of which gives room for criticism in every work are:

1 a rudest expression of confidence on the part of the author previous to entering into an explanation of his subject;

2 a proper arrangement of parts, chapter, sections, verses etc., in the exact order in which they follow or may be inferred from what goes before;

3 a logical classification of all minor divisions which are primarily to be general; these being duly divided into;

4 Special;

5 a following of the best and most generally approved plans, and a final development of the same;

6 a demonstration of all grounds whence conclusions may have been drawn;

7 citations of similar opinions expressed by ancient authors in support of those maintained, if novel—otherwise;

8 a mere mention of the authorities whence they have derived together with the principles (verse 11) on which they preceded prior to arriving at such conclusions, will suffice;

9 an explanation of all arguments adduced as well as of antiquities;

10 an avoiding of all terms bearing no relation to the subject in hand, or in any wise unconnected with it;

11 a construction of sentences so as to take in two or more ideas when circumstances require it ;

12 a subsequent explanation of all aphorism previously introduced and left unsettled ;

13 the establishment of preceding rules by applying them to all similar subjects that follow ;

14 a suspending on the same principles of all dependant thereon ;

15 a renunciation of obsolete opinions ;

16 whenever they may happen to interfere with or suppress modern discoveries ;

17 a laying down of such postulates or axioms whenever in hand would render the whole unintelligible if such definition were abruptly given ; convenient as may be of future service in a work.;

18 a non-hesitation to introduce undefined subjects whenever the complicated nature of those already in-hand would render the whole unintelligible if such definition were abruptly given ;

19 an illustration by many and diverse examples of such rules as absolutely require this mode of illustration in order to render them intelligible ; and

20 vise versa : a bringing of the rules themselves to bear as the various example adduced in support of them ;

21 a hint in its proper place of the following of definition to axioms suddenly laid down ; and

22 on the otherhand, a reference to proofs already brought forward in case of the recurrence of an axiom previously established ;

23 a siding with one or other of two contrary authorities ;

24 a producing of authentic and genuine examples in favour of authentic and genuine opinions ;

25 a laying down of plans by which the coalition of theory and practice may be effected ;

26 a resolution of dubious passages ;

27 the handling of a subject in such manner that whatever part of it has been inadvertently omitted or left

unsaid, may be easily inferred by its dependence on what has been already stated ;

28 a respect for the opinions of others ;

29 a continuation of the use of such technical phrases and terms as may best suit an author's taste and practice ;

30 an evident and easy transition between the parts of which a work is composed ;

31 a statement of all kindred subjects in their nature connected with any rule ; and

32 a circumscription by several rules of the signification of such subjects as cannot be defined by one (14).

2448 PARTS OF THE BOOK

24481 Ōththu

The ōththu or the division of a work which is known by this name among the best grammarians, is that in which kindred subjects are placed under the same head, just as pearls of the same description are strung on the same line (16).

24482 Paṭalam

The partition of a work which is called Paṭalam contains diverse and various subjects but still branches of one main stem (17).

24483 Cūththiram

Cūththiram contains as much matter in as few words as possible, and still the force and minuteness of the same is so unaffected thereby, that they appear as clear as the reflection of an object in a mirror (18)

244831 Method of Cūththiram

The course in which cūththiram proceed from one another is of four metheds (1) Fluviatic, (2) Lionine, (3) Ranatic, and (4) Acquiline (19).

244832 Fluviatic

This is a method in which follow one another in a series uninterrupted by breaks, interpolations etc (19.1).

244833 Lionine

This throws light on those proceedings as well as following as the lion having the peculiar faculty of seeing at one and the same time, both what passes before and behind him (19.2).

244834 Ranatic

This method partakes the nature of the frog which admit of brakes, or frog like jump from one subject to another, circumstances so compelling (19.3.)

244835 Acquiline

This method allows interpolations, like the eagle or rathar kite darts down while in the act of flying in order to seize whatever necessity may force it (19.4).

244836 Kinds

They are of six kinds:

1 complicate;
2 general;
3 special;
4 individual;
5 synthetic; and
6 exceptional (20).

2449 Commentary

A commentary has to contain fourteen particulars and they are

1 the text itself;
2 the purpose of the text;
3 the several bearings;
4 the meanings of the individual words of which it is composed;
5 its divisions;
6 illustrative examples;
7 proposals of objections that may be raised against it;
8 answers to these objections;
9 explanatory notes wherever required;
10 analysis of the text;
11 its utmost extent;
12 the determined opinions of the commentator;
13 the advantage to be derived there from; and
14 citatory evidence (21).

This kind of commentary is of two kinds called *Kāṇṭikai* and *Viruththi*.

24491 Kāṇṭikai

In this, original text is explained by making known (1) its purport, (2) the meaning of the individual words of which it is composed, and (3) by adducing examples. Question and answer may also be used in order to have further elucidation.

24492 Viruththi

This not only makes known the meaning of the text in the modes above named, but also mentions every particular indispensably requisite for the understanding of the original. The author here in not only gives his own opinions of things but also expected to adduce those of others, so as to leave nothing unsaid.

25 View of Vaithianatha Desikar

Vaithināthа Dēsikar is a most respected person among the distinguished grammarians of the seventeenth century.

Following the tradition of Tholkāppiyar and Pavaṇandhi, he gives a detailed picture of the book in his monumental work called Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam which is popularly known as Tholkāppiyam in parvo [34].

251 Seven kinds of Composition

The *pāṭṭu* (poetry), *nūl* (treatise), *urai* (prose), *pici* (riddles), *muthucol* (proverb), *mandhiram* (swearing) *kuṟippu*—these are the seven kinds of composition (Porul 389).

2511 Pāṭṭu

The *pāṭṭu* is a kind of form which is used to express the idea in verse. It is composed in four kinds called (1) *Ācukavi*, (2) *Madhurakavi*, (3) *Cithirakkavi* and (4) *Vitharakkavi* (390-391). It can be classified into 55 categories based on the subject matter (433).

2512 Nūl

The *nūl* is a treatise with uniform exposition of subject matter, adding ten beauties, avoiding ten faults, following thirty two niceties with cūththiram, ōththu, paṭalam and piṇṭam (518-526).

2513 Uraivakai

Uraivakai is of four kinds which are:

1 the verse and prose being intermixed;
2 the exposition of the meaning of the verses in detail;
3 the imaginary story of continuous narration; and
4 the tale of wit and humour (531).

2514 Pici

The *pici* is of two kinds—one is simile woven out of comparison while the other is allegory (532).

2515 Muthumoḻi

The *muthumoḻi* is an expression covering a particular idea in bright, short and subtle style (533).

2516 Mandhiram

The *mandhiram* is the formula sworn in the name of great men whose words never fail (534).

25161 Kuṟippu

The *kuṟippumoḻi* suggests meanings other than what the words indicate plainly (535).

252 Standard of the book

The works are of three standards called (1) Original, (2) Supplementary and (3) Explanatory (527-530).

253 Four objects

Every work must aim to comprehend one or other of the following:

1 the path to virtue;
2 the means of procurring wealth;
3 the display of pleasure; and
4 the road to Heaven (561).

26 MODERN VIEW

261 Standardization

Now we are on the threshold of standardization. The necessity for standards in increasing numbers to regulate and

coordinate rapid expansion of quality producing units with large scale utilization of indigeneous resources and raw materials and to eliminate waste as completely as possible is keenly felt all round. To achieve this, we established the Indian Standards Institution in January 1947.

262 Documentation Standards

The Indian Standards Institution was able to devote attention to the subject of documentation from the very begining of its career by setting up of a Documentation Sectional Committee. This was mainly due to the efforts of Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, National Research Professor in Library Science.

263 Achievements

The Documentation Sectional Committee has already formulated the following Indian Standards regarding books :

1 IS : 790-1956 General structure of preliminary pages of a book ;

2 IS : 791-1956 Half-title-leaf of a book ;

3 IS : 792-1956 Title-leaf of a book ;

4 IS : 794-1956 Practice for table of contents.

Another Standard has received wide circulation. It is on Standard practice for the presentation of the text of a book or of an article in a periodical.

264 Inability

On the other hand, it was not possible to formulate so far a standard for "creation of work" as enunciated by the Tholkāppiyar and Pavaṇandhi [31].

To be specific, it is reported that area of "creation of work" is not amenable to standardization in the Evolute of Documentation [16].

3 LIBRARY

31 PERSONALITY

Library is the giant brain of the humanity. It preserves the lofty thoughts of master minds, the lovely imagination of sensitive

brains, the wise and weighty counsels of sound and sagacious heads, in short, all the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the hoary, dim and distant past. It links up hundreds and thousands of generations with one another and thus provides a panormic picture of the humanity.

32 FUNCTION

Library is essentially a trinity of Document, Librarian and Reader. It is an institution charged with the

1 care of a collection of documents ;

2 duty of making them accessible to those who require use of them ; and

3 function of persuading every person within its jurisdiction to accept and continuously use its service [24].

33 PURPOSE

Library is a multi purpose social institution. Some of the elements in its purpose complex are :

1 to serve as social memory ; and for this purpose

2 to assemble, organise and serve expressd thought embodied as books and periodicals or as pictures or as sound-records or as other kindred materials ; and by this means

3 to help in the transmission of the knowledge of the earlier generations to the later ones ; and by this means

4 to help in the cumulation and the further building up of knowledge from generation to generation ; and also

5 to help in the perpetual self-education of one and all ; and

6 to collect together all valuable recorded imformation particularly in the form of reference books and to socialise and serve freely all such information to each according to his needs at the moment ; and by all such means

7 to help in the mutual understanding, co-operative, tolerant, and peaceful co-existence of individuals, communities, and nations ; and further

8 to help in the elevating self-dependent use of leisure with the aid of freely served books, pictures, sound records, and other kindred materials ; and

9 to help in increasing the opportunity for the spiritual awakening of one and all [21].

34 NALATIYAR NARRATES

The first interesting narration of library is found in Nālaṭiyār-one of the thirtysix Tamil works of Cankam age. It describes the nature of the person who maintains the library and nature of the scholars using the same as follows :

"Although men gather books in abundance and not understanding their contents fill the whole house with them, the scholars who merely take care of books are one sort and the scholars who understand their contents and make them clear to others are another sort" [18].

35 MANIMEKALAI MENTIONS

In the opinion of scholars, the word *Celunkalai niyamam* occuring in line 106 of Āpuththirankāthai in Maṇimēkalai refers to the institution of Library [27].

36 SARASVATIBHANDARAM

It is observed more than once that the term Sarasvati bhandāram, the abode of Sarasvat—the Goddess of Learning, found in the literature as well as in the inscriptions refers to the library where books are kept, used, and preserved for the posterity.

37 CHIDAMBARAM

Three inscriptions in Tamil available in Chidambaram temple ascribed to the period of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāṇdiyan I (A.D. 1251-70) describe about the library work.

371 Organisation

The first inscription records the order of Pallavadaraiyan probably in respect of the details of organisation of a Sarasvati bhandāram and a grant for maintaining and expanding the same. The sarasvatibhandāram seems to have been established by

Svāmidēvar enumerates the names of twenty scholars employed for writing down the various granthās [5].

372 Grant

The second inscription indicates a grant of land for the maintenance of several persons employed in the library mentioned in No. 168 above which contained among others manuscripts arranged to be copied down by Udaiyār Svāmidēvar. Provision was also made for writing and comparing works in Sanskrit and Tamil. Special mention is made of the Siddhāntaratnākarā among the books of the library [6].

373 Agrahāra

The third inscription registers the founding of an agrahāra named Vikrama Pāndiya caturvēdi maṅkalam on the workers side of Perumpaṟṟappuliyūr and its presentation to 108 brahmanas. For the maintenance of these and of other village accessories (gramaparikāra) including Sarasvatibhandarikā, the village Rājasikhamaṇinallūr alias Puḷiyankudi on the western bank of Ponneri was acquired and granted dividing into $147\frac{3}{4}$ shares [3].

38 SRIRANGAM

Another interesting reference to a Sarasvatibhandāra or library is found in a fragmentary epigraph engraved on the east wall of the third prakāra in the Ranganātha temple at Srirangam in the Trichinopoly district. It is but natural to expect that this temple which is classified as belonging to the uttamōttama type, should have been provided with a library as well.

The record states that in an auxiliary mandapa which accommodated this library, provision was appropriately made for the installation and worship of the images of the three presiding deities of learning—viz., Hayagrivā, Sarasvati and Vyāsabhagavan, by Palappalli Nīlakantha Nāyakar. As this person was a contemporary of Hoysāla Vīra-Rāmanātha, in whose 14th year inscription (A.D. 1269) he is mentioned, the library of the Srirangam temple must have existed from the middle of the 13th century A.D. [8].

4 LIBRARIAN

41 Function

Librarian is a person who is in charge of a collection of books with the functions of collection, preservation, maintenance, and doing all the work connected with the use of the same.

42 Sarasvatibhandarika

It is observed more than once that the person who was in charge of Sarasvatibhandāra—the Library—was designated as Sarasvatibhandārikā. The custodian of *puththakabhandāram* Library—was called *Bhandarapuththakamudaiyar* according to a Tamil inscription of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāṇdiyan dated 1251 A.D. in the Chidambaram Temple.

43 Seranmadevi

One Tamil inscription available in the Tuvarāpati appan temple in in Sēramādevi (Tirunelveli district) ascribed to the king Tribhuvanachakravarthi Kōneri Meikandān of 13th century records the order to the assembly of Sēravānamahādēvi caturvēdi-maṅkalam to deduct from the revenue rigister '2 ma' of land granted tax-free to the Sarasvatibhandārikā in the temple of Tuvarāpati appan by a certain Kaichchikku vachcha Pāṇdia-Brahmādarāyar [4].

44 Conjeevaram

One Tamil inscription available in Aruḷāḷap perumāl (Varada-rāja) Temple in Conjeevaram ascribed to 1359 A.D. records that the God invested the title of Brahmatantra Svantantra Jīyar on Vaishnavadāsa and directed that a matha should be established for him with the lands necessary for its maintenance and that the books procured by him should be left with him [7].

5 CLASSIFICATION

51 Subject Approach

Classification is one of the important items of work in a library. This means the arrangement of things in filiatory sequence according to their degrees of likeness; especially, the assignment of books to their proper place, in a scheme of book classification. It is found that users almost invariably consider

works from the point of view of their subject. This is called subject approach.

52 SUBJECT CLASSIFICATION OF CANKAM LITERATURE

It is observed that the works of Cańkam age are classified and arranged by subjects. First, they are divided into Mēlk-kanakku and Kīlkkanakku. Then Mēlkanakku is divided into two sections called Patthuppaṭṭu and Eṭṭuttokai—each containing ten individual works and eight collected works respectively [28].

53 ETTUTTOKAI

Tokai means anthology. Eṭṭuttokai consists of eight anthologies. These verses do not form a continuous narrative. These look like isolated or occasional verses each independent of the other. These verses were collected, classified, arranged and named on the basis of metre, different dimensions of the verses, and on the basis of subject matter. They are:

1 Naṟṟiṇai;
2 Kuṟuntokai;
3 Aiṅkuṟunūṟu;
4 Pathiṟṟuppatthu;
5 Paripādal;
6 Kalittokai;
7 Ahanānūṟu; and
8 Puṟanānūṟu.

54 PATTHUPPATTU

In course of time, short verses gave way to greater elaboration with musical rhythm. They are called Paṭṭu or Idylls. They are ten in number:

1 Tirumurukāṟṟuppadai;
2 Porunarāṟṟuppadai;
3 Cirupāṇaṟṟuppadai;
4 Perumpāṇaṟṟuppadai;
5 Mullaippaṭṭu;
6 Mathuraikkāñci;
7 Nedunelvādai;
8 Kuriñcippaṭṭu;
9 Paṭṭinappālai; and
10 Malaipatukadām.

55 KILKKANAKKU

Other shorter works which are 18 in number are named as Kīlkkanakku or Pathineṇ Kīlkkanakku. They are:

1 Nālaṭiyār;
2 Nānmaṇikkaṭikai;
3 Kārnaṟpathu;
4 Kaḷavaḷinaṟpathu;

5 Iniyavai narpathu;
6 Inna narpathu;
7 Ainthinai aimpathu;
8 Ainthinai elupathu;
9 Tinaimālai aimpathu;
10 Tinaimālai nūrraimpathu;
11 Kainilai;
12 Tirukkural;
13 Tirikatukam;
14 Acārakkōvai;
15 Palamoli;
16 Cirupancamūlam;
17 Muthumolikkāñci; and
18 Elāthi.

56 MINOR POETRY—NINETYSIX VARIETIES

In course of time, the Tamils began to experiment the composition of verses in different words on the basis of subject, metre, letter, form, rhyme etc., which swelled into 96 varieties.

This number, popular as the total number of *tatvas* or elements in a human body, was probably chosen to show that there are varieties of literary compositions nearing a hundred.

There was an attempt to arrive somehow at the figure ninetysix especially by Beschi who gave us the Tamil dictionary. The list in that dictionary is not the same as the one he gives in his Tonnūl—his grammar of Tamil in Tamil verse with a commentary [17].

57 TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTYFIVE DIVISIONS

When we analyse these ninety six varieties with regard to documentation, they swell into 265 divisions as shown by Ranganathan and Thillainayagam [26].

This shows the way to face the challenge of Depth classification of Tamil poetry. This has evoked the appreciation of many Librarians abroad to solve similar problem of English literature [20].

58 SUNDARAM PILLAI'S CLASSIFICATION

581 Nūrrokai viļakkam

Professor Sundaram Pillai—who is well known to Tamils by his famous dramatic work Manōnmaniyam—brought out a new classification scheme of the Universe of knowledge in Tamil in 1888 entitled Sastira Sangraham or Nūrrokai viļakkam based on a lecture delivered in Trivandrum [29].

582 Combination of three cultures

It is the product of erudite scholarship of three cultures —languages—namely Tamil, Sanskrit and English. It reveals the sincere attempt of a Tamil to give the elements of classification of Universe of knowledge to his fellowmen in his own language.

583 Terminology

The terminology uesd to explain the subject would command the admiration of anybody who is interested in scientific method of thinking. It can be understood properly only by reading the same in original.

584 Influence

It is said to have been based on the version of Herbert Spencer's scheme of classification of the Universe of knowledge according to Ranganathan [25]. But its influence over Ranganathan is worth mentioning.

6 FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORIES

61 Five Categories

There are five and only five fundamental categories—viz Time, Space, Energy, Matter, and Personality—in the context of classificatory discipline according to Dr. S. R. Ranganathan [22].

611 Time

It is in accordance with what we commonly understand by that term—such as millennium, century, decade, year, season, month, day, hour, minute etc.

612 Space

It is in accordance with what we commonly understand by that term. The surface of the earth, the space inside it, and the space outside it are manifestations of the fundamental category Space.

613 Energy

Generally speaking, its manifestation is action of one kind or another. The action may be among and all kinds of entities—inanimate, animate, conceptual, intellectual and intuitive.

614 Matter

Its manifestations are taken to be of two kinds—material and property.

615 Personality

Its manifestations are taken as the characteristic attributed soley and specifically to a particular aspect of idea concerned only which is not governed either by time, or by space. or by energy or by matter.

62 Universalization

It must be noted that that the ancient Tamils were noted for their catholicity of outlook and the capacity for abstract reasoning which enabled them to analyse any local feature in the wider perspective of the world. They thought in terms of the world in general. This attitude to universalise is said to be comparatively modern. But we get evidences of this attitude in early Tamil literature as detailed below.

63 Categories in Sangam Works

The ethical codes of love—*aham* literature—are divided into five *thiṇais*—personalities—called *Kuṟiñci*, *Mullai*, *Marutham*, *Neithal* and *Pālai*.

Every *thiṇai* is subdivided into three parts. They are:

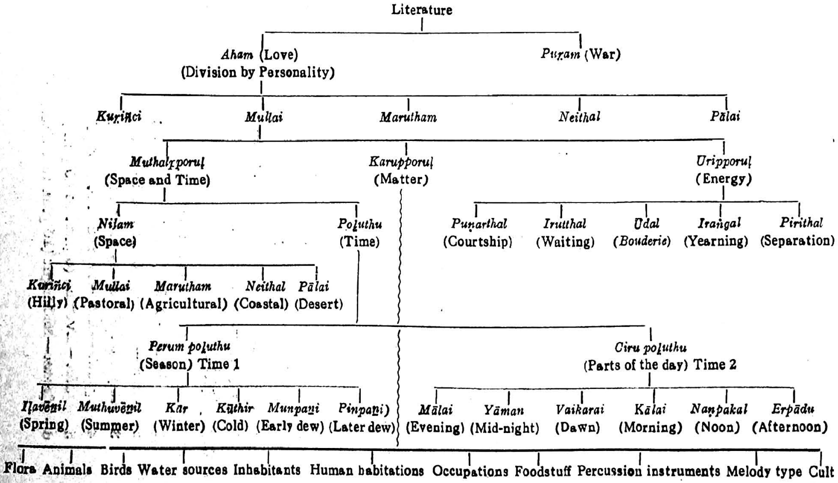
1 *Muthalpporuḷ* deals with Space and Time;

2 *Karupporuḷ* refers to Matter—like God, food, animals, trees, birds, drums, occupations and *yāḻ*; and

3 *Uripporuḷ* explains the action—Energy—as per the analysis of Tholkāppiyar.

The categories in Caṅkam literature are given in form of a chart in the next page for easy understanding.

63A Categories chart



64 Muthalpporul

Muthalpporuḷ deals with *Nilam* (Space) and *Poḻuthu* (Time). They are the most important entities of all the phenomena. They are limitless. Their origin is unknown and unknowable. They are eternal. Thus they are considered as being the first of things [10].

641 *Space*

According to Tamils, the *Nilam* (Space) is divided into five tracts. They are:

1 *Kuṟiñci*—Hilly region;
2 *Mullai*—Pastoral region;
3 *Marutham*—Agricultural region;
4 *Neithal*—Littoral region; and
5 *Pālai*—Desert region;

642 *Time*

The *poḻuthu* (Time) isolate here is divided into two levels called *Perum poḻuthu* (season) and *ciru poḻuthu* (parts of the day).

643 *Perum poḻuthu*

The year is divided into six seasons beginning from Mid-April and each comprising two months.

1 *Iḷavēṉil*—Spring season;
2 *Muthuvēṉil*—Summer season;
3 *Kar*—Winter season;
4 *Kūthir*—Cold season;
5 *Munpaṉi*—Early dewy season; and
6 *Pinpaṉi*—Later dewy season.

644 *Ciṟu poḻuthu*

Each day is divided into six periods.

1 *Vaikarai*—Dawn (2 a.m. to 6 a.m.);
2 *Kalai*—Morning (6 a.m. to 10 a.m.)
3 *Nanpakal*—Mid-day (10 a.m. to 2 p.m.);
4 *Eṟpadu*—After-noon (2 p.m. to 6 p.m.)
5 *Malai*—Evening (6 p.m. to 10 p.m.)
6 *Yaman*—Mid-night (10 p.m. to 2 a.m.)

65 Karupporul

Karupporuḷ comprises the 1 flora, 2 animals, 3 birds, 4 watersources, 5 inhabitants, 6 human habitations, 7 occupations, 8 foodstuff, 9 percussion instruments, 10 melody type, and 11 cult.

Each of the five *thinais* has got its own *karupporuḷ* as detailed below [11];

651 Kuṟiñci (Hilly) region

1 Flora: Storbilanthes kunthianus, Gloriasa superba, Blue nelumbo, East Indian Kino, Sandal-wood, Teak, etc.

2 Animals: Elephant, Tiger, Bear, Hog, Monkey, Stag, Deer, Mountainsheep etc.

3 Birds: Peacock, Parrot, etc.

4 Water sources: Mountain pools and water-falls.

5 Inhabitants: *Kuṟavar* (Sooth-sayers), *Kāṉavar* (Jungle-men), *Kuṉṟavar*, (Hill-men), *Iṟavuḷar*, (Mountain slope dwellers).

6 Human habitations: *Ciṟukuṭi* (hamlet) and *Kuṟicci* (hill-side village).

7 Occupation: Hunting, Cultivation of Italian millet, Honey gathering and Digging of edible roots.

8 Food stuff: Mountain paddy, Italian millet, Roots, Fruits and Bamboo seed.

9 Percussion instruments: Drums beaten during *Muruga* worship and *Kuravai* dance.

10 Melody-type: *Kuṟiñci yāḻ*.

11 Cult: *Cēyōn* (Murugan) worship.

652 Mullai (Pastoral) region

1 Flora: Arabian jasmine, Bedaly emetic-nut, Golden jasmine, Malabar glory lily, Indian laburnum, Wild lime, etc.

2 Animals: Fallow-deer, Spotted deer, Hare, etc.

3 Birds: Jungle fowl, Partridge, Pigeon, Quail etc.

4 Water sources: Jungle stream.

5 Inhabitants: *Āyar* (Cowherd). Also called *Iṭaiyar* and *Potuvar.*

6 Human habitations: *Pādi*, (a group of low-rotted dwellings), *Sēri* (a group of closely-constructed huts) and *Paḷḷi* (a group of shake-downs).

7 Occupation: Cattle-breeding and Cultivation of millets.

8 Food stuff: Common millet, Little millet, Pigeon-pea, Field bean, etc.

9 Percussion instruments: Drums used in tauronachy.

10 Melody-type: *Mullai yaḻ.*

11 Cult: *Māyon* (Tirumal) worship.

653 Marutham (Agricultural) region

1 Flora: Lotus, Water-lily, Arjuna, River portia, etc.

2 Animals: Bull, Buffalo, Otter, etc.

3 Birds: Duck and Water-fowl.

4 Water sources: Wells, Rivers and Tanks.

5 Inhabitants: *Uḻavar* (ploughmen) or *Kaḷamar* (thrashers).

6 Human habitations: *Ūr* (permanent settlement)

7 Occupation: Wet and dry cultivation.

8 Food stuff: Paddy, Pulses etc.

9 Percussion instruments: Marriage drum and Harvest drum.

10 Melody: *Marutha yaḻ.*

11 Cult: *Vēndan* (King of the celestials and Lord of rain) worship.

654 Neithal (Littoral) region

1 Flora: Blue Indian water lily, Screw-pine, Mast-wood, Fetid cassia, Mangrove, etc.

2 Animals: Shark, Crocodile.

3 Birds: Swan, Love-bird, Crane, Stork, etc.

4 Water sources: Sand-spring, and Salt-water pit.

5 Inhabitants : *Paravar* or *Parathavar* (boatmen), *Thim.lar* (Catamaranmen), *Nuḷaiyar* (drivers), *Karaiyar* (coastmen), etc.

6 Human habitations: *Kuppam* (a collection of huts), *Pakkam* (sea-side village), etc.

7 Occupation: Fishery and Salt production.

8 Subsistence: Sale of fish and salt.

9 Percussion instruments: Fishing drum.

10 Melody-type: *Neithal yal.*

11 Cult: Cult of *Varuṇan* (sea-God)

655 *Palai (Desert) region*

1 Flora: Sal, Bottle-flower, Trumpet-flower, Dried South Indian mahua, Tooth-brush, Uḷñai, Ñemai, Wedge-leaved ape-flower, Silvery-leaved ape-flower, Seven-leaved milk-plant, Conessi-bark, Blue-dyeing rosebay, Woolly dyeing rosebay, India-rubber vine, Green wax flower, etc.

2 Animals: Enfeebled elephant, Tiger and Red dog.

3 Birds: Eagle, Vulture, Kite and Pigeon.

4 Water sources: Dried-up wells and pools.

5 Inhabitants: *Maṟavar* (heroes, warriors, soldiers, men of courage) *Kaḷḷar*, *Eyiṉar* (archers) and *Vēṭṭuvar* (hunters).

6 Human habitations: *Paṟanthalai* (old battle-field) *Nattham* (desolate place) and *Kuṭikkaṭu.*

7 Occupation: Highway-robbery, plunder and warfare.

8 Subsistence: Valuables robbed and plundered.

9 Percussion instruments: Drums beaten during plunder and cattle-lifting.

10 Melody-type: *Palai yal.*

11 Cult: *Kaḷi* worship.

12 Formation: Temporary and annual change of hilly and jungle tracts into desert region during hot summer, when all water-sources are dried up, vegetation withered and land scorched.

66 URIPPORUL

Uripporul covers the following five phases of true love and its concomitants linked to the five fold division of land.

1 *Punarthal* : Courtship—love at first sight and union of lovers.

2 *Irutthal* : Waiting—patient waiting of the chaste and dutiful wife for the return of her hero from work.

3 *Ūdal* : Bouderie—the wife being in the sulks because of her hero's association with harlots.

4 *Irangal* : Yearning—waiting of the heroine for the separation of the hero.

5 *Pirithal* : separation—separation of lovers.

The Tholkāppiyam details the energy for the different *thinais* as follows :

> *Punarthal Pirithal Irutthal Irangal*
> *Ūdal Ivarrin Nimittham Enrivai*
> *Therum Kalaith Thinaikkurip Porulē* (960)

67 APPLICATION

S No	(Personality) (*Thinai*)	(Matter) (*Karupporul*)	(Energy) (*Uripporul*)	(Space) (*Muthalpporul*)	(Time 1—	Time 2) (*Poluthu*)
1	Kurinci	As in 651	Punarthal (Courtship)	Hilly	Cold season	Mid-night
2	Mullai	As in 652	Irutthal (Waiting)	Pastoral	Winter	Even-ing
3	Marutham	As in 653	Ūdal (Bouderie)	Agricultural	All seasons	Dawn & Mor-ning
4	Neithal	As in 654	Irangal (Yearning)	Littoral	All sessons	After-noon
5	Pālai	As in 655	Pirithal (Separation)	Desert	Summer	Midday

68 LIBRARY SCIENCE IN TAMIL

When the poets composed poems, the *Muthalpporuḷ*, *Karupporuḷ*, and *Uripporuḷ* must be appropriate to the theme. All the Caṅkam works stand this test with the perfect harmony of the *thiṇai* and the pertaining theme.

From the above, it can be seen that classification of the Tamils corresponds to the modern view of fundamental categories —Personality, Matter, Energy, Space and Time—confirming the view that the seeds of Library Science exist in Tamil [30].

69 SYNONYM

The words : 1 *Kuṟiñci*, 2 *Mullai*, 3 *Marutham*, 4 *Neithal* and 5 *Pālai*—are used to represent 1 Personality (*Thiṇai*); 2 Energy (*Uripporuḷ*); 3 Space (*Nilam*) as the case may be. The real meaning is to be understood with reference to the context with the help of other supporting ideas.

7 MNEMONICS

71 MEANING

Mnemonics originated from a Greek word meaning 'to remember.' Its dictionary meaning is the art of assisting memory; a mode of recalling the mind any fact or number, or a series of disconnected terms of figures.

This feature of mnemonics is fully utilised in the modern scheme of Colon classification to secure consistent sequence among the categories figuring in classifying work.

The following four kinds of mnemonics are possible in notation:

1 Alphabetical mnemonics;
2 Scheduled mnemonics;
3 Systematic mnemonics; and
4 Seminal mnemonics [23].

72 ALPHABETICAL MNEMONICS

Verbal mnemonics are quite common in life. This consists in representing an idea by the first letter or the first few letters in its name. A for Ant, B for Ball C for Cat are trivial examples.

Amirthacākarar—author of Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai of the 10th century—has used this device so nicely by roping of all the first words of verses used in illustrations in the first mnemonic verse called Uthāraṇa ilakkiya muthal niṇaippuc ceyyul [2].

73 SCHEDULED MNEMONICS

It will be strange to note that Pulavar *Urutthiracanmar* who compiled the *Ahanānūru*—400 verses on *Aham*—one of the works of *Eṭṭuttokai* of Caṅkam period, has taken the help of the idea of scheduled mnemonics in his attempt.

Accordingly, all the verses ending with the number 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9 are *Palai thiṇai* which denotes both the code of separation and region consisting of waste tracts of rocks and deserts.

The verses ending with the number 2 and 8, are of *Kuṟiñci* which denotes the code of courtship and hilly region consisting of hills and their neighbourhood.

The verses ending with number 4 are of *Mullai* which denotes both the code of waiting and pastoral region consisting of forests and woods.

The verses ending with the number 6 are of *Marutham* which denotes both the code of variance and agricultural region of plains with fields.

The verses ending with the number zero of *Neithal* which denotes both the code of pity and littoral region.

Thus there are 200 verses in *Palai*, 80 verses in *Kuṟiñci*, 40 verses in *Mullai*, 40 verses in *Marutham* and 40 verses in *Neithal* to make 400 verses in total [1].

74 SYSTEMATIC MNEMONICS

This denotes the mode securing consistant sequence among the ideas figuring in the subject matter.

This is obtained while composing *anthāthi*—i.e. the last line, or last part or last word or last letter of the concluding verse is continued as the first part of the continuing verse to help the reader in having continuity of the subject matter [9].

75 SEMINAL MNEMONICS

The identity of the concept is cognizable at great depths, beyond the reach of natural language. As and when the concept came up to the surface in particular contexts, a word in the natural language has been coined to denote it in that context. At the unmanifest depth of identity, there has been no need to devote that seminal concept by a term in the natural language.

This is obtained by the Tamil poets in the form of elements of compositions as described in Sections 232 and 67.

8 CATALOGUE

81 DEFINITION

A list of books, maps etc., arranged in some definite order. It records, describes and indexes the resources of a collection, a library or a group of libraries.

It is to be distinguished from (1) a list, which may or may not be in any particular order, and from (2) a bibliography, which may not be confined to any one collection of books.

82 FUNCTION OF CATALOGUE

The function of a catalogue is to provide to readers, answers to questions such as the following :

1 Is there a book in a collection by such and such an author ?
2 What are all the books in a collection by him ?
3 Is there a book in a collection with such and such a title, that is, name ?
4 Is there a book in a collection with such and such a collaborater—that is, editor, translator. reviser, compiler, commentator, etc. ?
5 What are all the books in a collection with him as collaborator ?
6 Is there a book in a collection in such and such a publisher's series ?

7 What are all the books in a collection in that publisher's series?

8 Is there a book in a collection in such and such a subject?

9 What are all the books in a collection on that subject and on its sub-divisions and on subjects of which it is a sub-division?

33 APPLICATION

831 Title Index

Books of particular nature are grouped under title for easy remembrance. The verse regarding the titles included eight anthologies (referred to in Section 53) runs as follows.

Naṟṟiṉai nalla Kuṟuntokai Aiṅkuṟunūṟu
ottha Pathiṟṟuppatthu Ōṅku Paripādal
Kaṟṟaṟinthar ēṟṟum Kalittokai Aham Puṟam eṉṟu
itthiṟatthu Eṭṭuttokai.

There are many examples like this.

832 Author Index

Authors of Patthupaṭṭu (Section 54) are enumerated in verse as follows :

Muruku naḷvadaiyum Kīran
Muṭathama kaṉṉi porun
Marvu pan Palai
Urithiraṅkaṉṉaṉ, makiḻciru pan
Puriyu Naththatthan, Maruthan naṉ
Kañci; Nappūthaṉ Mullai
Varumeṉ Kapilaṉ Kuṟiñci
Malaikadam Kaucikaṉē

833 Subject Index

Subject arrangement of Kalittokai is explained in the following verse.

Pōkkellam Palai punarthal naruṅ Kuṟiñci
Ākkamaḷi ūdal Aṉimarutham—Nōkkoṉṟi
Illirutthal Mullai iṟṟaṅkiyappōkkō Neithal
Pullum Kali muṟai kōppu

9 CONCLUSION

91 Golden Age

From the above, it can be seen that the elements of Library Science did exist even 2,500 years ago—that is during the period of Tholkāppiyar which is the Golden age of Tamils.

Even during the later period, the continuity of high thought on scientific subjects was maintained upto the period of Pavaṇandhi. That is why we are able to see the vivid picture regarding a standard for a book,

92 Neglect

But, neglect of its study, the foreign influences in different walks of life, the uninterrupted changes that took place in the land through centuries, and last but not the least, the lack of self respect in the field of their own language, literature and culture on the part of the Tamils have made to see that period with awe and wonder.

93 Hope

Now that the position is changing definitely though slowly with the dawn of Independence attained in 1947. Let us hope to regain the noble ideas and practise the same for the good of international understanding and peace.

94 Request

Librarians of different language groups may kindly spend some time in this way to trace the elements of Library Science in their languages and make it known to others also.

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9B INDEX

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9C CORRIGENDA

Add the following after the penultimate line of Page 117

1 paucity of words ;
2 profuseness of language ;
3 tautology ;
4 inconsistency ;
5 use of inappropriate words ;
6 unintelligibility of expressions ;
7 too great simplicity ;
8 introduction of irrelevant subjects ;
9 transition of idea ;
10 rodomontade (12).

2446 Ten Beauties

SECTION II: REPORTS OF SEMINARS AND LECTURES

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a seminar on "Patterns of Marriage in Tamil Society, Old and New" on Monday the 17th April, 1972 in Room No. 48, of the University Departmental Buildings. The procceedings were in Tamil. A report of it, rendered in English, is given below:

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The Leader

Respected Director, Ladies, Gentlemen and Friends:

I am very glad to have been afforded an opportunity to lead a seminar on Patterns of Marriage in Tamil Society-Old and New under the auspicious or the Institute of Traditional Cultures. I heartily thank its Director for giving me this opportunity.

The Tamils constitute one of the ancient races. Marriage is one of the important and beneficient norms of Social life. So, it will be both illuminating and informative to examine the changes that took place in the Tamilian's marriage rituals from time to time.

I would very much like all to present their interesting views on this fascinating topic of Marriage Rituals—then and now. However, I request that my contribution should only be treated as a prompter for the discussion. More than my paper, the subject matter of the paper, should be the topic for examination.

So in this paper (1) there will not be much discussion on the happenings before or after marriage and (2) there will be no examination here, of the question whether marriage is good or bad, whether it is necessary or not or, any comparison on the superiority or otherwise of any particular marriage system over the others.

Also, in this paper, there will be no examination of the restrictions on marriages or of the happenings before and after marriages of the past and present.

2

Let us now look at the words which are synonymous which give the idea of Marriage. Alphabetically (in Tamil) they are (1) *Kadi* (கடி) (2) *Manam* (மணம்) (3) *Manral* (மன்றல்) (4) *Vaduvai* (வதுவை) and *Varaivu* (வரைவு). The word *Mānam* occurs 12 times; *Vaduvai*, 10 times; *Manral*, 6 times and *Varaivu* 4 times in all the works beginning with *Tholkāppiyam* and ending with *Pathinenkeezh Kanakku*. Of these *Manam* was derived from the act of watersports, *Manral* by virtue of *Manril* (meeting and *Varaiyarai* from the concept of limitation.

Tholkāppiyar uses the word *Kadi* both as an adjective or, as an adverb. Among them, the word in the sense of "Removal" (நீக்குதல்), protection (காப்பு) would have been associated with word Mānam (மணம்) in later times.

It is stated that, the word Vaduvai (வதுவை) is a Sanskrit one. *If that is so, how did it come to be one among the words denoting marriage in Tholkāppiyam is a point for Research.* But *Vaduvai* (வதுவை) can be taken as a Tamil word, having connection with *Vaḍidal* (வதிதல்).

It is noteworthy that the words *Kadi* (கடி) and *Manam* (மணம்) in Tholkāppiyam appear inconsistent with the meaning of *Thirumanam* (திருமணம்).

3

It may be stated that "child marriage" had no place in the life of Ancient Tamils. References to child marriages are noticeable only in Manu smriti. It would appear that Tholkappiyam contains references to Marriages but not to Marriage rights. However the importance given to rites (கரணம்) in its Karppiyal (கற்பியல்) cannot be forgotten or ignored. The first five stanzas of Karppiyal contain emphasis on rites. One among them is :—

பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர்
ஐவர் யாத்தனர் கரணமென்ப.

(With the onset of deceit and lapses, the elders laid down the rituals).

It is clear from this stanza, that the rituals referred to, should have been in existence long before Tholkappiyar's time. But it does not appear possible to state categorically and clearly, what these rituals were. Prof. Dr. V. Sp. Mānickam states "Ritual signifies sign of marriage. My view is that it is an ornament of wifehood signifying the passing of a woman from the state of maidenhood to the state of wifehood". (*Tamizhkadal*, page 150).

The origin of Karanam (ritual) is to differentiate the married girl from an unmarried one. Removal of the anklet of the foot is one rite; adorning the tresses on the head with flowers is another. We deduce that these two rites were widely in vogue in marriages in ancient days. That a girl has attained wifehood could be deduced from her feet shorn of its anklets and flowers adorning her head. (*Tamizhkadal*, page 165).

There is difference of opinion on the question whether only married women adorn their head with flowers.

In this connection, it is worth considering another explanation given by Prefessor Ilakuvanār. It is this :

"Another meaning can be given to the word "*Karanam*" (Ritual). In these days village accountants called *Kanakkapillais* are Karanams. As Karanam denotes accountants, it also signifies the act of writing. So, is it not possible that the habit of writing that a particular woman is the wife of a particular man might have been in vogue? Is it not possible that Tholkāppiyar might have signified this act of writing as *Karanam*? In accordance

with this ancient custom, even today the contracting parties of a marriage, before the marriage, assemble in a house and write out the agreement in this manner. This function is called writing the marriage invitation, or *Nischayathārtham* or "exchange of betelnut and leaves". So what is the harm is assuming that the practice in Tholkāppiar's time, continues to be in vogue even today ? It is this practice that has developed into the practice of Registering (of marriages). (Dr. C. Ilakkuvanār - *Tholkāppiya Āraichi*, page 179).

4

Now it is obvious that youths among the ancient Tamils courted, without the knowledge of their parents. The (leg) anklet is the sign which signified the great change from that stage. Even in the Tholkāppiyam era, marriages arranged by parents are clearly seen. Marriage of the people of the same castes are also mentioned. Marriages in which the elderly Brahmins, perform rites, according to scriptures are also depicted. Among the Anthological works, *Kalithokai* which is regarded as belonging to a later period, depicts this in verse 39-3-7. Above all this, it is clear that *Kannagi* of *Silappadhikāram* had not adopted the penance of removal or the anklet. As an authoritative evidence is the description "அஞ்செஞ்சீறடி அணிசிலம்பொழிய". "(Beautiful red and small feet bereft of the anklet worn)" in *Silappadikāram* 1 : 4 : 47, which refers to Kannagi's travails during her separation from her husband after marriage. Even if there were the four caste divisions of communities in ancient days, the rigor and wickedness of this, witnessed in medieval times and today, were not in vogue. It may be boldly stated that they did not create any complications in marriage. The opportunity to know the horror of caste system is afforded for the first time in *Manimēkalai*. Those who know the story of *Āputhiran* know this well.

5

Taking a stand a little further away from comparative examination, let us read how Marriages were performed in Sangam period.

There are only two poems among the Anthological poems which help us in knowing the customs connected with marriages

among ancient Tamils. They are *Agam* (*Agananūrū*) verses 86 and 136. Among these, verse 86 gives the following information :—

1. The first in the programme for marriage was a feast (Even now Pongal (Rice boiled in ghee and Vadai (Dhall cake) are given).

2. Sand was spread under the marriage porch and lamps were kept burning. (Even now lamps are kept).

3. Early in the morning at the auspicious hour, when Moon and Star Rohini were in combination, elderly ladies carried pots, full of water to bathe the bride. (Even now bathing is done; but the practice of elderly ladies fetching water does not appear to be in vogue).

4. Flowers and paddy were sprinkled on the water pots and four married women having children, gave the bath to the bride, blessing her with the words "not to sway from the path of chastity, do all good and be a loveable wife to the husband." With this, the auspicious wedding ceremony ended.

Let us now see what verse 186 of *Agam* (*Akanānūru*) says:

1. A feast of rice cooked with meat took place. (Now no non-vegetarian food is served.)

2. At the time of the auspicious combination of the Moon and Rohini, the marriage house was decorated and prayers to God were offered. (This practice is in vogue now.)

3. Drums and kettle drums were played at marriages. (Instead of kettledrums now drums and *Nathaswaram* (pipes) are played.)

4. The bride was bathed. (This is in vogue now.)

5. A protective band of white cord made of *vāgai* leaves and tender shoots of bladegrass was tied to the bride. (Even now one kind of protective band is tied.)

6. Ceremonial dress was given to the bride by her relatives. (This is in vogue now.)

7. The bride was decorated with various ornaments by her relatives who also wiped off the perspiration caused by the ornaments.

There are two notable points regarding these two poems (*Agam* 86 and 136) by *Nallāvūr kizhar* and *Virrūrru Mūthaimananar* who were Non-Brahmins.

1. Both are in *Agananūru*

2. Both relate to agricultural areas.

Next, some *general* points given in these two poems are:

1. The first function in the marriage was a feast.*

2. The marriage took place at the auspicious conjunction of the moon and Rohini.* and

3. The bride had a ceremonial bath.*

Next some *special* points in verse 86 of *Agam* are:

1. Sand was spread on the ground under the marriage porch and lamps were displayed. (Even now this is done.)

2. Early in the morning at the time of the auspicious combination of the moon and Rohini, elderly ladies brought vessels full of water; and

3. Flowers and paddy were put into the water pots and four (it should be noted that the number is even) married women having children gave ceremonial bath and blessed the bride "not to sway away from the path of chastity, do all good and be a loveable wife of her husband".

The *special* points in verse 136 of *Agam* are:

1. A feast of white rice cooked with meat was prepared.*

2. The bridal house was decorated and worship offered to God.*

3. Drums and kettle drums were played.*

---

* These practices are common now.

* All these are in vogue now.

4. A protective band of white cord made of *Vagai* leaves and tender shoots of blade grass, was tied to the bride.*

5. Relatives adorned the bride with ceremonial dress.*

6. Relatives decorated the bride with various ornaments and wiped off the perspiration caused by these ornaments.*

Some of the points given out in these poems which are common at present are :

1. Even now sand is spread at marriage celebrations at temples.
2. Lights are kept at marriages and decorations of flowers are in vogue.
3. The tradition of performing the marriage at an auspicious time continues.
4. Early mornings are regarded as most suited for marriages.
5. The bride wears new dress.
6. Wedding guests are entertained at the wedding feast.
7. The marriage house is decorated and God is worshipped.
8. The marriage bond is tied even now.
9. Various ornaments are given to decorate the bride.
10. Nuptials take place during the night of the wedding itself.

It is regrettable, that no details are available, regarding the special honours done to the bridegroom at marriages of Ancient Tamils.

The points given in *Agananūru* deserve examination.

1. *மாமுது பார்ப்பான் மறைவழிகாட்ட*
எரியோம்பித் தீவலம் செய்யாமை.

An elderly brahmin indicated the Vedic procedure, there was no circumambulation of sacred fire.

2. There was no tying of *thali* (marriage cord).

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* All these are in vogue now.

3. Meat was served along with other food, even on the marriage day itself.

These three will illustrate the (later) Vedic in-roads in the early Tamil Society. The first references to this will be seen in Sangam literature of later period. They are seen in *Kalithokai* and *Silappadikāram.*

There are differences of opinion regarding *Thāli* (marriage cord). Dr. M. Rajamanickanār has published a Research treatise "*Thāli* in Tamil marriage" on this question. He has concluded that *thāli* among Tamils came into vogue only in the 10th century. Silambuchelvar Thiru Ma. Po. Si. (M. P. Sivagnāna Gramaniār) has argued in his "Sengōl" that *thāli* existed even during the Sangam period. In support of this standpoint a scholarly book was published in August 1968 by Professor Virabhadran entitled *Mangala Ani.*

So far as I can see, there are no references to Marriage cord (*thāli*) in Tamilian Anthological works. With reference to the phrase in *Purananūru* 127 "ஈகை அரிய இழை அணி மகளிரொடு" it is my own view that, the words ஈகை அரிய would refer to bejewelled women and not to jewels. If this meaning is accepted, the phrase will mean "கொடையாகவும் கொடுத்தற்கரிய பெண்கள்." (Women who cannot be given away, even as gift.)

Next, there is confusion among commentators on what the phrase "மங்கல அணி" in *Silappadikāram* (சிலம்பு) implies. The commentator (Adiyārkunallār) is not definite in saying "It may be the auspicious cord" மாங்கல்ய சூத்திரம் as he also says. "it may mean "natural beauty." Also, both when she married and lost her husband and broke the gold anklet, there is no reference to மங்கல அணி (auspicious cord) in Kannagi's neck. So it is impossible to conclude categorically, citing Silappadikāram (சிலம்பு) that '*Ṭhāli*' existed. Now, the new point I want to make regarding the *Thāli,* is, that in contrast to the conclusion reached by Dr. M. Rajamanickanār, *Thāli* had secured some place in Tamilian marriages earlier than the 8th century. The reason for this is the one stanza of Thirumangai Āzhvar given below:

அந்தகன் சிறுவன் அரசர்தம் அரசிற் கிளையவன்
அணி யிழையைச் சென்று
எந்தெமக் குரி செய்யென்த் தெரியாது
எம்பெருமான் அருளென்ன

சந்த மல்குழலா ளலக்கண் ணூற்றுவர்தம்
பெண்டிரும் எய்தி னூலிழப்ப
இந்திரன் சிறுவன் தேர்முன நின்றானைத்
திருவல்லிக்கேணி கண்டேனே.

(It is strange that this stanza was not noticed by Dr. M. Rajamanickanār).

In spite of the anachronism, it will be correct to conclude that during Tirumangai Azhvar's time, the custom of wearing a cord (later named *Thali*) around the neck, to signify married status had come into vogue.

It should be remembered that in the story of the dacoity by king Thirumangai, *Thali* is mentioned.

The article on *Thali* written by the learned Anthropologist, Thiru T. J. Jeyadev in the transactions of the Archeological Society of South India for the year 1959-60 (Pages 43 to 71), is noteworthy.

The expressions "அருங்கலம்" (Rare ornament) occur in Sangam and medieval literature and "முலை விலை" (in Kalavial Urai - Thaujai Vānan Kōvai) literally translated "Breast price") occurs in medieval literature. This may be deemed to be "Bride price" பரிசம் (Parisam). Clearly, அருங்கலம் cannot be *Thali*. It should be noted, that even now the custom of bridegroom's party presenting the bride with a special ornament is largely in vogue.

The special knowledge that we gain from Silappadikāram is that the marriageable age of the boy was 16 and that of the girl 12.

Next the following are mentioned in the 7th or 8th century work of *Perunkathai*, in connection with Vāsavadatta's wedding:— (1) kindling the sacred fire (2) Treading the mortar stone (அம்மி) (3) use of puffed rice (4) circumbulating clockwise holding the palm (5) Blessings by Brahmins (6) showing Arundhati (7) Blessings by elders etc.

Subsequent to *Perunkathai*, only Āndal's divine poems of the 8th century, detail the marriage rites. The following points appear in *Nachiar Thirumozhi*:—

1. Seeking bride by Dévas including Indra.*
2. Bride adorning new dress.*

* These customs are in vogue now.

3. Sundari (Durga) sister of Thirumāl garlanding the bride.*

4. Tying of wristband to the bride.*

5. Bridegroom coming to the marriage porch.*

6. Kannan holding Āndal's hand to the playing of musical instruments.* (This can be regarded as the sign of marriage).

7. Kannan holding Āndal's hand, circumbulating the sacred fire clockwise, to the chanting of *mantras* by Vedic priests.

8. Kannan placing with his hand, Āndal's foot on the mortar stone (அம்மி).

9. Āndal's co-genitors placing Kannan's hand on that of Āndal and pouring puffed rice.*

10. Smearing kumkum and sandal on the couple, taking them round the streets clockwise and then, pouring water on them. (Is this custom in vogue now? Now the custom of pouring turmeric water alone is prevalent.)

11. Bridegroom giving a ring to his brother-in-law.*

In this detailed list "tying of *Thāli*" is absent. When this is compared with the song of Thirumangai king, it would appear that the custom of tying "*Thāli*" would have been in vogue here and there and not as one, accepted by all.

Even in the *Choolāmani* (stated to be a 9th century work) the custom of (1) Girl's father giving away his daughter to the bridegroom with a dripping of water on the hands as gift. * (2) Raising the sacred fire * (3) circumambulation clockwise of the sacred fire by the married couple. * (4) Treading the mortar stone (அம்மி) and showing of star Arundhati. * are mentioned. The custom of father gifting the daughter by pouring water over the hands is mentioned for the first time only in this work.

Next among the Nine marriages contracted by a person belonging to Royalty, there were some inter-caste ones. Let us

* These customs are in vogue now.

consider the points relating to such marriages in *Chintamani* seriatim as they occur :—

(1) Bathing the bride. * (2) Removing the gold ear lobes inlaid with stone and, replacing them with auspicious *Kadippu* (Ear ornament). (Even now new ornaments are adorned) (3) Garlanding with flowers. * (4) After these decorations are over, the father gifts her by pouring water over his palm, which the bridegroom receives and accepts. *(5) Kindling the sacred fire * (6) the bridegroom circumambulating in the clockwise direction, holding the bride's palm * (7) Fixing an auspicious day for marriage.* (8) To the playing of Kettledrum, drum, conch, bridegroom marrying the bride. * (9) Tying of wristband to the bride.* (10) Announcing the auspicious date for marriage. * (11) The bridegroom circumambulating the sacred fire holding the bride's left hand. * (12) showing of the star Arundhati.

Next, the new points in *Kandapurānam* of *Kachiappa, Sivāchārya*, a 11th century work, are given below :—

1 Himavān washed the feet of the Bridegroom, Lord S'iva, with water poured by the bride Umā's mother (This custom appears to be in vogue among Brahmins now).

2 Next he placed Umā's hand on that of the bridegroom, poured water and gifted her to the latter.*

3 The chief of Kuravas placed Valli's hand on that of Murugā and gifted her by pouring water.*

4 Nārada acted as priest, lighted the sacred fire and performed the rituals.*

5 Indra, father of Deivayānai, offered worship at Muruga's feet.*

6 Later, Indra placed the bride's hand on that of Muruga and gifted her by pouring water.*

7 Next the Fourfaced God (Brahma) mentally created and handed over the sacred thread which Muruga tied to Deivayānai.*

Even in *Tirukkutrāla Padalam* of *Kandapurānam* the sacred cord is denoted as பொற்றாலி "Gold Thali." So, that which was

* These customs are in vogue now.

a cord in the 8th century became famous as *Mangala Naṇ* (auspicious cord) and *Potṛṛāli* (Golden Thali) in the 12th century.

Next, in the 12th century work, *Periapurānam* which throws light on the social history of the Tamils, two marriages of Sundarar and one of Sambandar are depicted. Of these Sundarar's is a love and inter-caste marriage. Sambandar a Smārtha Brahmin's marriage was according to Vedic rites. In this: (1) Bride's father washing Sambandar's feet * (2) Gifting the bride by pouring water * (3) Singing of Vedic chants. * (4) offering of blessings * (5) Use of puffed rice * (6) Sambandar circumambulating clockwise holding bride's hand * are mentioned. Next in the Purāna of Kungiliya Kalaya Nayanār, Chekkizhār has mentioned that due to poverty, his (Nayanār's) wife offered to her husband the *Thāli* tied to the sacred thread for purchasing Paddy saying (கோதில் மங்கல நூல் தாலி கொடுத்து).

From this line the evolution of the *Thāli* between the 8th century and the 12th century can be seen.

Kavichakravarthi (Emperor among poets) Kambar denotes *Thāli* as: (1) "Neck cord" கழுத்தின் நாண் (2) Auspicious Thali (மங்கலத் தாலி) and (3) Auspicious (திரு). Even now the expression திருப்பூட்டல் (Fixing of திரு i.e. *Thāli*) is prevalent in Chettinad and the expression *Tirukkalyānam* திருக்கல்யாணம் is used everywhere.

Now there is a special point in the commentary of Chokkappa Nāvalar of 18th century on *Thanjai Vānan Kōvai*. The relevent meaning of this point, is as under:

"Accompanying to one's own town, living in one's own house together, in the absence of marriage rites performed in the presence of Brahmins, elders and parents, cannot constitute marriage, because, the world will not accept the tying of *Thāli* by one entitled, as marriage without any marriage rites being performed with the knowledge of parents and relatives. So they will have to celebrate the marriage with all marriage rites. So, only that marriage performed in the presence of Brahmins etc., is the regular marriage."

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* These customs are in vogue now.

From this passage, it will be clear how a Tamilian marriage without rites became transformed into one with rites at a later period.

From Edgar Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India," the following will be noticed :—

1 Even now among Malayalees there is no tying of *Thali* at marriages, but only giving of a new cloth (*Mundu*) (2) There is no tying of *Thali* even among the tribal people like Todas, Godas Badagas, Koigas, Kondas, Savaras, Muduvar, Oddas, Yenadi, Cherumas, Mukkuvas, Palias, Valayas, Pulayas, Pariahs, Nayadis, Paniyas, Malaccas, Karimbalas, Malayars, Malasas, Kadars, Vettuvars, Maravidas, Aruuadars Kappiliyars, Koragas, Kadu Kurumbas, Moyars, Garvis, Pairas, Odari etc. (3) Among the Mukkula Thevars, the progenitors of the Bridegroom bring the bride after going to her house and tying a *Thali*. Among them marriage with witnesses, takes place even after begetting two or three children. (4) Among the Kongu Vellālas the priest of their caste called Arumaikkārar ties the *Thali*. Among the Koleyars there are two practices. The sister-in-law in small marriages and the bridegroom in big marriages, tie the Thali. (5) Some among Potters and Kottai Vellalars tie Thali. Among the citizens, the most respected, prosperous and elderly man with the sister-in-law of the bride wiil tie Thali. Among Pallas, the custom of the sister-in-law tying the Thali as also the bridegroom, is in vogue. Among Pattinavars (persons living near sea coast) at a remarriage there is a habit of the husband or a lady relative of his tying a "நடு வீட்டுத் தாலி" (Tying Tali at the central place in the house.) At marriages of Uppiliyas, the sister-in-law or a prominent lady will tie the *Thali*. Among the Uraliyar, Valayars, Vallambar, Salavai Thozhilalar (washermen), Kurumbar, the sister-in-law ties the *Thali*. (6) Among the Tamilian Uppiliyars the widows retain the *Thali*, till it is worn out and falls. Widows among Valiyar do not remove the *Thali*. Only when they wish to remarry, will the *Thali* tied by the previous husband be removed. Nowadays members of *Mei Vazhi* Sabhai do not remove the Thali on the death of their husbands. This is a laudable custom, worthy of being followed by those who tie Thali (at marriages).

It is noticed from Thurston's book that, instead of the *Thali*, many adopted (1) *Minru* (2) Black glass bangles (3) Brass

ear rings (4) String with black beads (5) String with single gold ornament (6) Silver bangle on the right hand (7) Bangle in the ear (8) *Matra* shaped like a drum (9) Bangle or chain (10) cord with Brass ring (11) A special ornament depicting Indra's head, tied with a silk thread or hair (12) *Uṇḍa Minnu* or *Puli Ilai Minnu*.

The *Thali* regarding which large research was under-taken some years back, exclusively belongs to Tamils - the reason for this is, that the practice of tying *Thali* is not in vogue in North India. The custom of tying *Thali* may be stated to indicate the marital status of a woman publicly but also imply subtly the subordination of woman to man. It can be held, that the *Thali* with Tiger's claws, which indicated the valour of Ancient Tamils was changed to the marriage *Thali* at a later period. Just like the custom of tying the *Thali*, the custom of shaving the head, to indicate widowhood, also appears to be a Tamil custom.

6

Next, after studying the point of giving the significance behind the Vedic marriage rites which evolved from the 8th century, the present day rituals may be considered. This point is found discussed in the Tamil Encyclopaedia.

Marriage rites

"Acts like erection of marriage porch, procession in the town, playing of drums, sounding of conch, proclaim the new status and the change in life of the bridal couple. Giving of presents to bride (பரிசம் இடுதல்), betrothal, enumeration of Gotras, provide evidence of the marriage contract. Ceremonies like lighting of lamps *Arati* (Waving of lights), *Nalangu* are intended to avoid the evil eye. Vratās (penance), Upanayanam (initiation), and Tying of protective band, indicate the shift in the status from their previous one, of the couple. Acts like wearing of new clothes, *Thali*, wearing of ornaments like toe rings, exchange of garlands and rings, are indicative of the new position in the life of the couple. Ceremonies like going round the sacred fire, treading the mortar stone, showing the star Arundhati, adorning with kumkum, pouring of turmeric water, gifting the girl by pouring water, grasping of hand, tying of (பட்டம்) seek to introduce to the newly weds,

their new duties, responsibilities and behaviour. Blessings and feast signify the support given to the couple in their new life".

It is surprising that these Vedic marriage rites, have penetrated even among castes which till a century ago, had their marriages performed, not with a Brahmin priest, but with Valluvars. Taking benefit of the Removal of Untouchability Legislation, the Brahmin priests are extending their influence even in slums. This shows that the poorer classes rigidly follow the practices of the well-to-do classes.

It is desirable to examine comparatively, the ancient marriage customs of the various castes. But I regret, I have no time for this. But the blessings uttered by the Nāvida (Barber) at the wedding of Kongu Vellālas captivated me.

Among the Tamil marriage systems, the best is the marriage at Temples. The poor and the village people even today, adopt this simple marriage system. The rich also celebrate the marriages at temples to redeem vows—but with all pomp.

The mass marriages taking place at the marriage of the Deity at Ekāmbaranāthar temple at Kāncheepuram, with the consent of parents and even without it, are noteworthy.

We will now examine the waning influence of the Vedic marriages, from the beginning of the 20th century. The first important reason which was calamitous to orthodoxy was, the Indian Freedom movement. As a result of this, new and revolutionary acts occurred as a result of new thoughts. Among these we should consider two (1) A feeling of linguistic unity (2) Rationalism. My view is, that both can be brought under Rationalism. As a result of this (1) chanting of mantras in Sanskrit language which may did not know (2) observing of difference of castes and (3) performance of ceremonies, the significance of which was not known, were all hated. Only as a result of this (1) Tamilian marriages and (2) Reform marriages or Self Respect marriages took place.

Dravidian Father, Periyār E. V. R. (E. V. Ramaswāmy Naicker) and pure Tamil's Father, Maraimalai Adigal sowed the seeds for this Renaissance. Of these two, the former ridiculed God, but the latter was a worshipper of God. But both were one,

in discarding Sanskrit and Brahmin Purohits. But the former in defiance of religion performed acts like marriages in *Rahu kalam* and without the *Thali*. The latter observed auspiciousness of days and time and performed religious rites in Tamil, Following the example of these two great men, a large number of marriages are taking place. Among these, the majority have changed form, to "Lecture marriages". Now even "poets meet", have been introduced and shortly debates may also come into vogue. Some of these, are being used for party propaganda. Among the religious Tamil marriages, Tamil holds the place.

Before concluding, it is useful to give a resumé :—

1. In the Sangam period marriages followed Nature and Reason.
2. There were no caste differences in them.
3. There was no child marriage.
4. There were no Sanskrit *Mantras* or prayers.
5. At the end of the Sangam period, particularly, during the Epic period, the Aryan systems attained supremacy.
6. These in course of time, especially in our present century, started penetrating into the lives of the villagers also.
7. The practice of tying *thali* is that of Tamils only;
8. This rite may have attaind a place in Tamil's lives from 8th century A.D.
9. Marimalai Adigal and Periyār were the persons who were responsible for a Renaissance in Tamilian marriage systems, in two different ways.
10. Among Tamilian marriages, there are marriages of wealth and show, as well as simple marriages at Temples.
11. The influence of (1) Sociology (2) Religion (3) Economics and (4) Politics can be clearly manifest in these marriage customs.

Somalay : Dr. Sanjivi has spoken impressively and in detail, about Tamil marriage rites. We are much indebted to him for this.

He stated that the marriage customs of Nāttukkōttai Nagarathārs are specially noteworthy. My aim is to point out some of these customs and explain them.

Place of marriage: The marriages of Nagarathārs customarily take place in Chettinād. Traditionally, they are celebrated only at the bride's house.

As an exception, some people celebrate it in their town and, country of their business, but they are rare, few and far between.

Divisions of Gotras : There are Gotras among Nagarathārs. Among the Nine Town Temples of Ilayāthagudi etc., Pillayārpatti and Irani Temple are treated as one Gotra. As there are large families in Ilayathagudi and other towns, there are sub-divisions or Gotras within them. In all there are 22 Gotras.

People of a Gotra call others belonging to it as coparceners (பங்காளிகள்). Girls can be taken or given in marriage only from families of other Gotras. Even though all persons belonging to the Ilayathagudi temple are co-parceners, there is endogamy among them and one division calls the others divisions as பகல் பங்காளிகள் or பெரும் பங்காளிகள்.

It is an ancient practice to indicate the male and female deities of the temple of theirs, in the marriage invitation. If an invitation commences with the expression "By the grace of Nithyakalyāni with Kailāsanātha, then it means that the family is attached to Ilayāthagudi Temple. Similarly, the wedding invitation from the bride's party will indicate the male and female deities of the temple to which it is attached.

Invitation to God also: The temple plays an important role in Nagarathārs' weddings. Just as invitation is given to one and all, the marriage parties are bound to invite the God and Goddess whom they worship. This function will take place on a particular day. If the wedding is fixed say on 10th of Chitrai then exactly 3 days before i.e. on the 7th of Chitrai a co-parcener (பங்காளி) will go to the Nagarathārs' temple and register the

marriage, giving full details, affixing his signature. Once this invitation has been givin to the temple it would be impossible to postpone the marriage under any circumstance.

It is clear from this, that in the ancient Tamil Nad, Registration of marriages was done by temples. As betel nut and leaves are presented at the Registration, this ceremony is called 'presenting betel nut to the temple" (கோவிலுக்குப் பாக்கு வைத்தல்).

After the betel nut presentation (to the temple) the God is believed to bless the bridal couple. Two garlands adorning the God's neck will be detached and sent through a servant to the wedding house. Only when these temple garlands are worn, Nagarathārs wedding is valid.

Worship of ancestors: The day next to presentation of betel nut, is the day of this worship. Near relatives assemble and offer worship to ancestors or meditate on Sāstha or other family deities or set apart money for worship.

Lighting the auspicious lamp: After worship of God, the lamp will be lighted inside the house and, however much the house is illuminated with electric lamps, this lighted lamp will be kept burning till the end of the marriage. *Aganānūru* (86) mentions this as "மனைவிளக் குறுத்து" signifying its shedding light after being kindled.

Then all will go to the town's water source (ஊருணி), bring the soil therefrom and, use it for erection of the marriage dais. This ceremony is called erecting marriage place or getting mud for marriage place (மணவறை போடுதல் அல்லது மணவறைக்கு மண் எடுத்தல்.)

Invitation to relatives: The right of invitation is reserved only to co-parceners (பங்காளிகள்), blood relations. Printed invitations will be given only to persons who are not related. Blood relations and other relations should be personally invited. On going to their houses and annonncing "we have come to invite you to the marriage" they will spread a mat (தடுக்குப் போடுதல்) and offer betel leaves and nut. The persons who go to invite should sit on the mat, indicate the marriage date and invite them for it. Spreading the mat indicates, acceptance of

the invitation and non-spreading, refusal thereof. "How can I tell her of the marriage. She has stated she won't spread the mat" is a saying in this connection.

Silappadikaram mentions "தாலப் புல்லின்வால் வெண் தோட்டு கைவன் மகடூ உக்கவின் பெறப்புனைந்த தவிசு" meaning that Kannagi spread a mat to feed Kovalan which was knit by a skilled woman from fine white palmyra leaf."

Marriage Announcement-Order of Invitation: First the nearest relative and next to the maternal uncle will be invited on an auspicious day. From that day, till after the wedding is over and, a feast is held in this maternal uncle's house, (காய்ச்சி ஊற்றுதல்) the marriage party will not participate in anything inauspicious.

Invitation to Townsmen: This is one of the customs of Nagarathars. The night before the wedding, knocking at the door of some houses, invitations will be given after presenting them with highclass Colombo betel nut and leaves. The reference in *Silappadikaram Vazhthuppadal* "மாநகர்க்கு ஈத்தார் மணம" indicates the invitation given to citizens of *Kaverippumpattinam* at the wedding of Kovalan and Kannagi. In those days, they went abont inviting riding an elephant (யானை). But nowadays they have certainly not become cats (பூனை) but walk to the houses and follow the custom.

Sugar for the people of the village: After the wedding is over, the wedding parties distribute sugar and betel nut to all persons in the town, to share their delight on the completion of the auspicious function. A bag of sugar will be loaded in a cart and sugar will be distributed to every house without fail. What a big contrast with the position obtaining now, when one has to wait in the queue for hours with pain in the legs, with a bag and money, to get 'sugar'?

The custom of distributing sugar to the people of the locality was in vogue, even for the birth of the first child. Each family was given sugar, equal in weight to that the new born baby. This practice obtains in some families even now in Maharashtra. The baby is weighed again and again and sugar is offered to the people of the whole town.

Feeding (வடித்துப் போடுதல்). In commemoration of the marriage, the custom of boiling rice and feeding the poor and needy is one and, some families even now follow this custom.

Arrival of bridegroom's party : The bridegroom's party will arrive at the bride's place, the day next to the invitation and offer prayers to God. The party's arrival will be heralded by firing of loud explosives on hearing which, the bride's party will welcome it according to tradition. Usually this welcome will be at a temple or a place near the temple.

An elderly person of the bride's party will decorate the bridegroom with ring, neck chain, wrist watch, lace *dhoti* (lower garment), garlands and smear the holy ash (திருநீறு) on the bridegroom's forehead and bless him.

Following this, the bridegroom's party will be taken to the accompaniment of music and fireworks, to the place of their stay. Nowadays they are brought to the bride's house itself.

Presentations : The bride's party will present gold, silver, eversilver, bell-metal, brass, copper, wooden articles in sets of different varieties. The bridal couple will have dresses, bed, cot and other decorative articles. All articles needed for comfortable living are fully provided and exhibited, so that one will get the impression that "what is here, is not elsewhere." Toys for children, to be born, will also be kept. As soon as a girl is born, her parents will begin collecting these presents for her wedding, day by day and, hour by hour. These articles will be arranged in a decorative and attractive manner and any new comer visiting the marriage house, will wonder if he had entered a Museum hall.

Salt: The night before the marriage the bride's party will deposit a bag of salt at the bridegroom's house. This is evidence of Nagarathars of ancient days, having been salt merchants.

"Knowing" the Bridegroom: The barber sent by the bride's party early in the morning of the wedding day will shave the ridegroom and intimate bodily defects of the bridegroom, if any, to the bride's party.

Presentation of Saree: The bridegroom's party will present the bride with saree at the wedding and this is called கூறை

கொடுப்பது (Giving of *koorai*). This may have derived the name from the presentation of saree of "Koorai Nādu." This giving of Koorai is equivlent to tying of Thāli. Poosibly tying of thāli might have been a later custom.

Tying of band: At auspicious functions, a band is tied to the wrist of the participants. This is tied at the beginning of the function and removed at its conclusion. In a verse describing the functions of a marriage, *Agananūru* mentions the tying of a band of stems of blade grass through which a silver thread was passed. The description is as under: "The small *Vagai* leaf with delicate flowers, along with the shoots of cool sweet smelling blade grass, sprouting at the first onset of rains, tied with white (silver) thread was used as decoration." (*Agam* 136).

Method of bl ssing the couple: The custom of blessing the couple with flowers and paddy, is even now prevalent among Nagarathārs. This is mentioned in a verse in *Agananūru* as "நெல்லொடு தூஉய்."

At the marriage function, the custom of blessing the couple with turmeric-smeared rice, paddy and flower of blade grass is in vogue even today. "This is called அறுகிடுதல் and Avvaiyar's verse" "மங்கைக்கு அறுகிடவந்தார் மணப்பந்தலிலே" is worthy of reminiscence.

Manamiduthal (Auspicious act): With flowers and paddy, close relatives touch the bridal couple and bless the couple. This custom is in vogue in Chettinād today. This is called blessing with flowers or Blessing with "*Ari*." The word Ari (அரி) was used in the meaning of அரிசி (Rice) in Sangam literature. At the time of harvest *Ari* (அரி) will be set apart, first for God. *Ari* signifies prosperity and happiness. *Agananūru* 86 says: "நீரொடு சொரிந்த ஈரிதழ் அலரி, பல்லிருங்கதுப்பின் நெல்லொடு தயங்க."

It means that the bridal couple were blessed with the pouring of flowers and paddy wetted in water.

Pots of tender shoots: The marriage of Kovalan and Kannagi took place with the circumambulation of sacred fire with the vedic rites indicated by an elderly Brahmin (மாமுது பார்ப்பான் மறை வழி காட்டிடத் தீவலம் செய்து) This custom is in vogue even now. Added to this, just a Kannagi was blessed by ladies "with wide

pots full of sprouts" (விரித்த பாலிகை முளைக்குடி நிரையும்) even now, in Nagarathār's marriages, pots of sprouts are kept near the bridal couples. Though there is change in time, basic ideas have not changed.

Valluvappai: The bridegroom hangs a bag on his shoulder from the time of his reception till the conclusion of marriage, called *Valluvappai.* There is a special significance for this. One of the traditions in *Aganānūrn* is "வரை விடை வைத்துப் பொருள் வயிற் பிரிதல்". It was a habit in ancient society that a lover should himself earn and then marry his girl. This is possibly the significance of the bag to indicate that he has secured funds.

Vévu Offer: *Vévu Eduthal* is the function at which, all presentations are taken in procession round the town, on the heads of hired servants. There are various *Vévus* like *Ādi Vévu, Kārthikai Vévu, Pongal Vévu, Pilliār Nonbu Vévu, Māma Vévu* etc. This signifies sets of presents made to bridegroom's party by the bride's party, as also those of the maternal uncle or brothers of the bride, at important functions at her house. In any case, the bridegroom's party welcome this income of material wealth. The real significance of this should be noted, as ensuring the daughter lives happily and to remove the grievance of her not being entitled to patrimony, her brothers, at every function in her house, carry headloads of foodstuffs which is an age-long practice. In later days, servants were employed to carry these headloads. This idea will be clear to those who observe the habit of loading and unloading of these presentations. At the time of presentation all male members of the party making it, according to age, will carry on their own heads, the baskets of presents and give it to the girl's party. The habit of even male children carrying presents is an age-long hereditery one. The meaning of this is, to impress on the youngsters that they will, till their last breath, give presents to "the girls born with me to my parents or to girls born with my father".

Ornaments: The sign of marriage is the *Thāli*. The *Thāli* among Nagarathārs is known as *Aimpadai Thāli.* This derives its name from the manufacture in gold, of five ornaments constituting it, in imitation of the five instruments of the Protecting Lord, Thirumal. The ornaments are in the form of the conch (சங்கு), wheel (சக்கரம்), club (கதாயுதம்), axe (கட்கம்), bow (சாரங்கம்).

Whatever be the value of gold in the *Thali*, these five ornaments are secured only through a thread coloured with turmeric.

According to a note in a book by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandithamani Kathirésa Chettiār, Nagarathār women wore at special functions "*koppu*" (கொப்பு), like Jaffna women on their ears, along with "*Mudichu Kadukkan*" (முடிச்சுக் கடுக்கன்), "*Piraith thévi*" (பிறைத் தேவி), on their heads, a garland of gold beads and corals, a silver *Idaich churi* (இடைச்சூரி) wrist band made of gold beads and coral, silver rings on hands and feet, white wrist anklets.

Isaivuppidimanam (இசைவுப் பிடிமானம்): At the conclusion of marriage functions, the marriage parties will write out an agreement, which will be signed by parents of the couple and their blood relations. The presentations made by them will find a place in the agreement. This agreement, which is an evidence of the marriage, is in Tamil script in a stone inscription. The coinage of Cholas and Pallavas are also mentioned in it.

Mounting a horse: The bridegroom will come to the bride's house on horseback. At the end of marriage functions the bride, groom will go round the town in procession only on horseback. This is done, with a view to introduce the bridegroom to all in the town. At every house *Ārati* (waving of light) will be done to him.

Seeing the girl: In olden days, the bridegroom had the opportunity to see the bride for the first time, only on the marriage day. The paternal aunts of the girl used to adorn the girl and keep her standing with all relatives at the entrance of the house for two minutes, to enable the bridegroom mounted on the horse to see her.

According to tradition, a girl belongs by right, to marry only his paternal aunt's son. Only to show that the paternal aunt has no objection to her marrying outside, this function is arranged. Similarly the maternal uncle has to perform his part to let the people know that he is abdicating his rights to the girl's hand.

Turmeric water: In receiving and entertaining and in the confusion created in receiving and giving of things, the voices of the relatives will become hoarse. The bridal couple are given oil bath and, at the time of sprinkling turmeric water on them, the

relatives (as in the Holy festival of North) sprinkle turmeric water on each other.

Tiruvādirai: Nagarathārs perform the Tiruvādirai function to matured girls. The idea behind the function apparently is, that girls of their community should achieve the distinction of Ādirai who was regarded as great, by Manimékalai. Manimékalai on getting the never failing alms pot, wanted to get alms for the first time from a chaste woman and begged alms from Ādirai. The alms given by the latter with the words "பாரக மடங்கலும் பசிப் பிணியறுக" (May all houses on earth, be liberated from hunger) relieved the world from hunger. Similarly the girls who celebrate this *Tiruvādirai* go from house to house saying :

ஆடி ஆடி வாரோம் அவரக்காய் போடுங்க !
பாடி பாடி வாரோம் பாடவரங்காய் போடுங்க !
கூடி கூடி வாரோம் கொத்தவரங்காய் போடுங்க !

Playing playing we come ; throw to us field beans
Singing singing we come ; throw to us sword beans
Group by group we come ; throw to us cluster beans

and get foodstuffs. This function appears in the *Tiruvādirai* day of *Mārgazhi* of each year. This also advertises the brides of the future. It was the practice till recently, only to many a girl to whom *Tiruvādirai* function had been performed.

Money presents: (மொய்ப்பணம்): All blood relatives and other relatives present money. But the maternal uncles give as present substantial amounts while others present a token amount. The aim of the money present, is not income. It provides a list of relatives and others who attended the function. In the case of close relatives who have to be present, and do not come, their names are written in the list without specifying the amount.

Conclusion: In the Nagarathārs' marriages, we see a number of customs mentioned in ancient Tamil literature. Adoption of some of the essentials among them after knowing their meaning, will help in keeping up our ancient Tradition.

A. Sundaramurthi: The ancient Tamils believed in Fate. Fate played an important role in many of their activities. Even in matters of personal affections and feelings (Agam) Fate dominated.

Tholkāppiyar refers to Fate by the word "Pāl." It is under the decree of Fate the lovers meet and fall in love according to Tholkappiyar "*Irayanār Agapporul*" also strengthens this view. The commentator of *Tirukkovaiyār* asserts that without the machination of fate there will be no love between a man and a woman. As God ordains the circumstances of each person's life according to his deeds, he is also known as "Fate ordainer."

Tiruvalluvar had absolute faith in Fate. "What is more powerful than Fate" he exclaims. By the machination of Fate the lovers meet, clandestinely for some time and later get married. So, once they become lovers, there is no question of one marrying any other person.

It is only the restrictions of Fate that shaped the lives of ancient Tamils. Fate was the decree of God. So ancient Tamils thought that instead of marriages arranged by parents, it was by the act of God through Fate that a man and a woman met, loved and married.

After the Sangam period various civilizations and traditions got mixed up in Tamil Nad. The custom of a bridegroom getting married to a girl with the consent of her parents, through the Vedic rites of a Brahmin, circumambulating the fire; came in and is practised even now in Tamil Nad. But by this, Fate in marriage has not disappeared. It has now changed into the suitability for marriage through horoscopes. But it is difficult to say when the practice of verifying suitability of marriage through horoscopes came into vogue in Tamil Nad.

After the Sangam period, only in the marriage of Kovalan and Kannagi the ceremonial rites were adopted. In that marriage though a Brahmin priest is mentioned, there is no evidence of the suitability of the marriage being verified, through horoscopes there.

Even in the marriages described in *Jeevaka Chintamani* or in the marriage of Kāraikkāl Ammayar, suitability through horoscopes does not appear to have been mentioned. So it may safely be concluded that, till the time of Sekkizhar, the practice of verifying suitability through horoscopes was not in vogue. This practice should have crept in only after the twelfth century. Between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries various Siddars

wrote Astrological Works and it is only during that period Astrology flourished and, hence, the practice of consulting horoscopes should have come into vogue only then. The *Nadi Jatakas* of Agasthiya and Kākabusunda mention, in the Nadi astrological chart of a man, the name of the girl that he will marry and *vice versa*. As the Nadi system of Astrology is based on Fate, I think, that the belie in Fate which was strong in the Sangam period, was dormant for some centuries afterwards and, again revived in the new garb of verification through horoscopes.

K. C. Kamalayya: The ancient Tamils classified their life into two—one was feeling and the other act. The former was called *Agapporul* i.e. personal feeling and the latter *Purapporul* (Social). *Agapporul* meant a man enjoying pleasure with a woman with whom he has full identity of views and who is essential for his life. *Purapporul* signified acts essential for his life but not intimately connected with it. *Agapporul* is further divided into clandestine courtship, *Kalaviyal* and married love (*karpiyal*). In *Agapporul* can be seen love, courtship through intermediaries, meetings, separation and married life.

As already stated, *Agapporul* is manifest both in *Kalaviyal* (clandestine courtship) and *Karpiyal* (married love). The boy meeting a girl expressing his love through words and acts, the girl reciprocating, both being happy, the parents of the girl restricting her movements, the girl's companion meeting the boy and requesting him to approach the elders and press for marriage, his complying with the same and the couple getting married-upto this marriage, is *Kalaviyal* (clandestine courtship) and life after marriage with the consent of the elders is called *Karpiyal* (married love).

To think that *Kalaviyal* was always improper is incorrect. *Tholkappiyam* Porul makes it quite clear.

"உயிரினும் சிறந்தன்று நாணே ; நாணினும்
செயிர் தீர் காட்சி கற்புச் சிறந்தன்று."

Professor Saravana Arumuga Mudaliar in his article "*Tamilian marriage practices*" in the Golden Jubilee issue of Madurai Tamil Sangam explains the Tamil word for marriage திருமணம் as under :—

"The beginning of the life of a man and a woman united in marriage is bright with fragrance and hence apparently, it is called "திருமணம்" (*Thirumanam*). "*Tiru*" means beauty wealth, prosperity, splendour etc. *Manam* denotes fragrance. In Nature, flowers mostly emit fragrance. In human life also, marriage shines, in service to home and country and in progeny. It is only by marriage, love blossoms in the minds of the couple and gets fulfilment just as the flower emits fragrance when it blooms. Perhaps only on this account, the Tamils named marriage as மணம் (*Manam* - fragrance).

Tholkappiyam (Porul 91) denotes eight kinds of marriage "மறையோர் தேஎத்து மன்றல் எட்டு" but it is difficult to state clearly how many among these, were in vogue in Tamil Nad. Of these some were popular in Āryan countries but in Tamil Nad only one was in vogue. Marriage by consent and pastoral marriages were the speciality in Tamil Nad. It is useful to find out among whom, clandestine love and marriages without clandestine love were in vogue.

Even though the Tamils had a number of avocations, it will not be correct to say that marriages were caste-oriented. *Kuruntokai* (verse 40) bears out that, caste was no consideration in union of lovers in marriage.

> "யாயும் ஞாயும் யாராகியரோ
> எந்தையும் உந்தையும் எம்முறைக் கேளிர்
> யானும் நீயும் எவ்வழியறிதும்
> அன்புடை நெஞ்சந்தாங் கலந்தன".

But it is difficult to assert that the caste system introduced by the minority Āryan community in Tamil Nadu made any cleavages in the social and marriage customs of Tamils. In as much as Tholkāppiyar speaks only of Brahmins, kings, merchants and agriculturists (Vellālars), one cannot accept that the Āryan Varnās (Caste divisions) of Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras prevailed. Apart from Brāhmins, none followed by compulsion the Āryan Vedic customs. Only a small batch of Āryans immigrated through the North West Frontiers of India. In course of time this small minority necessarily mingled with the majority who were natives of the land. Ananda Coomāraswāmy in his *A University Course in Indian Art* says "Dravidians spread out in the whole of India. Even now the Northern Region

is inhabited by Dravidian race, though not by language. The fundamental origin of Hindus is that of Dravidians. It is more appropriate to call Hinduism as Indian Religion than Indo-Āryan. We should not confuse over the circumstance of Hinduism being mostly propagated through Āryan languages." The Āryans who settled in Tamil Nadu with the concession given to them by the then rulers propagated their ideas. "When I see the auspicious king, I see Tirumāl (Vishnu)." Such is the status to which the king was raised. The culture of the Āryans and that of the ancient people grew without a clash. Dr. K. K. Pillay in his "*Purananūru and the history of ancient Tamils*" published in the Golden Jubilee issue of Madurai Tamil Sangam states "It is possible for many savants of Tamil Nad to be classified as Brahmins in the New Social order. During this period the Buddhists and Jains appear to have come to South India. As a consequence of the competition with them, the Brahmins might have attempted to augment their interests and numbers."

In ancient Tamil Nad, there was an opportunity for an young man or woman to select his or her life partner, as also to meet and decide for themselves, their marriage. They had the courage to run away from parents who opposed their union. This was called '*Udanpokku*' (Running away with lover). The marriage took place in the house of those parents, either of the girl or the boy who agreed to the union. That parents did not enforce marriage of a girl to a boy whom the girl did not like when they got to know of this through the girl's companion, is illustrated in Verse 52 of *Kuruntokai.*

It is natural for lapses to occur in human life. Observing occurrences of falsehood and lapses both in clandestine courtship and wedded love (*Kalavu* and *Karpu*) the elders framed regulations. *Tholkappiyam* (Porul 143) states:

"பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர்
ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணமென்ப".

Falsehood occurred in hiding acts and, lapses in not being consistent or constant in love. But it is necessary to bear in mind that in a man-woman relationship there is scope for clandestine love as Tiruvalluvar himself states in verse 1102:

"கண் களவு கொள்ளும் சிறு நோக்கம் காமத்திற்
செம்பாக மன்று பெரிது".

The Ancient Tamils married partners of their choice or partners selected by parents. There are accounts relating to such marriages. *Agananūru* 86 gives the following picture of the marriages in those days:—

"The assembly was partaking of Pongal (boiled rice) cooked with blackgram. There was a pavilion with rows of pillars. The ground was spread with fresh sand. A light was burning. Festoons were in evidence. It was the auspicious day of Rohini devoid of all evil stars. It was a bright morning. Four ladies who had begotten children carrying pots (of water) on their heads, by turns, blessed the girl by scattering paddy and flowers on her head with the benediction "May you be good and be a support to your husband and follow the righteous path" and bathed her. After this, the marriage took place. Then the relatives blessed the bride wishing her to be a worthy housewife and gave her to the bridegroom."

In the Sangam period there was no priest at marriages. In *Silappadikāram*, Kovalan and Kannagi are depicted as married according to the Vedic rituals by a Brahmin and that new introduction, has survived and is now an old custom. It is now a matter of controversy whether in ancient Tamil marriages "*Thāli*" (Marriage string) was in vogue. *Puranānūru* Verse 11 "ஈகை அரிய இழையணி மகளிர்" is quoted to mean that with the most precious of all jewels, the Māngalya sūtram. "இழையணி" is taken to mean the most precious jewel for a woman—the *Thāli*. The words "ஈகை அரிய" is taken to mean "precious to give" and "ஈகை" is also taken to mean Gold, to exemplify the greatness of the *Thāli*. Whatever it is, *Thāli* is the symbol of marriage of all communities in Tamil Nad Hindus (other than Muslim) including Brahmins, as also Christians.

Tamil is one of the oldest languages and, linguists certify it as pure and could sustain without borrowing from other languages. But purity of race cannot be maintained like linguistic purity. All those who speak the Dravidian languages cannot be classified as Dravidians. Nor can they be classified on the basis of their marriage customs. We need investigate only the various marriage customs. Today, we can classify the Tamils only as Hindus and Non-Hindus and the Hindus can be further classified as Brahmins and Non-brahmins. Similarly the Non-Hindus

can be further classified into Muslims and Christians. So far as marriage customs are concerned, the Brahmins though following the Vedic rites, still adopt the southern custom of tying *Thali*—custom prevalent only in South. Similarly they also adopt another custom peculiar to South viz. to marry the paternal aunts and maternal uncle's daughter. In this respect, they differ from the Brahmins of North. The Muslims followed the customs of their religion and have no caste system but the Tamil Nad Christians follow the caste system and marry only within their caste but follow the custom of tying *Thali*. Among the Non-Brahmin Tamils the "castes are a legion" as poet Bhārathi said and, they marry within their castes and mostly through marriages arranged by parents; but not all these marriages are with priests. But the custom of offering '*Parisam*' to the bride at her residence and then marrying, is prevalent.

We shall now observe the marriage customs in a village in Tirunelvéli district. Even though over 80% of the population in that village are *Maravas* there are further divisions among them such as Chembi Nāttu Maravas, Kondaiyan Kōttai Maravas, Agathia Maravas and Vanniya Maravas, the last being petty chieftains or Pālayakārs but still they do not marry outside their castes. As K. M. Panikkar stated in his "Survey of Indian History" the higher castes, the Andhra Reddis, the Kerala Nāirs, the Tamil Maravas, the Mahrāttas though Hindus do not wish to integrate with the four varnas of Āryan classification." Among the Maravas, 9870 are Chembi Nāttu Maravas spreading to Rāmanāthapuram, Madurai and Tirunelvéli districts but they marry within their community. But marriages do take place without objection within their own sub castes or with Kallars and Agambādiyars. Before the advent of the Zamindari Abolition Act the community consisted only of rich chieftains and the poor and, there was no middle class but the rich chieftains married only within the community and their first wives were closely related to them before marriage. These chieftains never uplifted their community, but only exploited the strength of the poor members of the community. They performed their marriages with Brahmin priests.

But, the majority who are not rich chieftains, do not employ Brahmin priests as they cannot financialy afford the luxury. Of

the 2000 and odd families of Chembi Nāttu Maravas in the village, only a hundred engage Brahmin priests. They first verify relationship by caste before marriage. Then *parisam* (presentation to bride) agreed to by both parties is given and the girl wears the dress given by boy's parents. On selected auspicious days, the pavilion is erected and paddy for the feast milled. The marriage takes place in the boy's or girl's house. Under a decorated pavilion a dais (called *Manavarai*) the marriages rites with the help of a Brahmin priest takes place and at an auspicious time, the bridegroom ties the *Thāli* and the couple exchange garlands. The sister of the bridegroom helps him in tying the *Thāli*. The girls sing at the time of tying the *Thāli*. The elders bless the couple by smearing the sacred ash to the couples, foreheads. Then the guests are given sandal paste and betel nut. The marriage feast is vegetarian, though the community is non-vegetarian.

Among the majority who cannot afford to engage the priest, the same procedure is followed without the Brahmin priest and without vedic rites but, in the presence of elders, the couple dressed in new clothes and the *Thāli* is tied with the help of the baidegroom's sister before the elders. The rest of the functions are the same as in the case of those engaging Brahmin priests.

In this community, widow remarriage and divorce is permitted, the latter on payment of a compensation. There is no lasting enmity on account of divorce and, divorcees are allowed to remarry.

During the past thirty years, the Maravas are expanding their relationships but one Ragunātha Thévar, a Rāmnād king at the end of 17th century, married the sister of the Kalla chief of Pudukkottai. (List of Inscriptions and sketch of the dynasties of South India by Robert Sewell—Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. II). Such inter-caste marriages were not new and gave scope to remove caste barriers.

Excluding the minority, the marriage customs of the majority was uniform. Tying of the *Thāli* was the chief custom and marriage without priests, is the rule. In dress and other matters there is a uniform simplicity but this uniformity in customs, was ignored but, only the diversity of caste loomed large before them. This is obvious to anyone who has resided in the districts of Rāmanāthapuram, Madurai and Tirunelvéli.

Even though Aryan customs have spread successfully through all parts of India, the ancient customs of the locality are still followed and even enter the close knit Brahmin caste according to Emile Senar and, castes still follow their own religious rites in marriage and death. Any caste feels *mental fulfilment*, at having castes lower in status and seeks to improve its own lot by measuring its relation with Brahmin castes. Hence, by employing Brahmin priests at marriage, they feel they will be elevated. If any change is to occur in the marriage custom it is possible, that it may in the next 50 years when a change acceptable to all may shape out.

C. Ramakrishnan: Marriage is the first step of advancement of human civilization. As a result of marriage new needs cropped up and as his needs grew, he advanced and discovered new things which accelerated the growth of standards and civilization.

Before marriage was instituted, men and women had only physical relationship but it did not help human growth but helped to grow falsehood and lapses and hence, marriage had to be instituted to curb these as indicated by the *Tholkappiyam* verse :—

> "பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர்
> ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணமென்ப"

After man ceased to be a nomad and settled down to build a home and cultivate land, scope for regular marriage customs was afforded. The married woman was designated as *manaivi*—மனைவி—(house wife) and இல்லாள் (Illāl, lady of the house)—see also Thirukkural 8 :

> "இருந்தோம்பி இல் வாழ்வது எல்லாம்
> விருந்தோம்பி வேளாண்மை செய்தற் பொருட்டு"

Even now in Coimbatore district (Kongu Nādu) the word வேளாண்மை (*Velanmai*) has been contracted to வெள்ளாமை (Vellāmai) and denotes only agriculture.

According to jurisprudence, man's growth is from status to contract and marriage is regarded only as a contract.

If a man and woman proclaim that they are married, society does not easily accept it. Only for the sake of Society marriage

rites have been instituted. We will assume that a man and woman live as husband and wife without the formality of marriage for a long period. Then on account of their long united life, society is prepared to agree to regard them as husband and wife. Law also does not hesitate to confer that status, if society agrees to it. Viewed from any angle, the consent of society is a *sine a qua non* in such matters.

In Tamilnad, in ancient days, marriage customs were simple "நாலு பேர் அறிய" "Marriage took place with the cognisance of four people," was a customary expression. Marriage function was performed only to get this cognisance of four people in society. No ostentation was needed and, simplicity was natural.

Under a cool pavilion with new sand spread out on the ground, pendant festoons, rows of lamps, with blessings of four bejewelled ladies on the bride, bathed and adorned with paddy and flowers and the parents of the girl pronouncing the benediction of her being a distinguished wife, the bridegroom took the bride as his mate. After this there was a feast. This is exemplified by verse 86 of அகநானூறு *Agananuru* :—

"வாலிழை மகளிர் நால்வர் கூடிக்
கற்பினின் வழாஅ நற்பல உதவிப்
பெற்றோர் பெட்கும் பிணையை யாகென
நீரொடு சொரிந்த ஈரிதழ் அலரி
பல்லிருங்கதுப்பின் நெல்லொடுதயங்க
வதுவை நன்மணம் கழிந்த பின்றைக்
கல்லென் சும்மையர் ஞெரேரெனப் புகுதந்து
பேரிற் கிழத்தி யாகெனத் தமர்தர
ஓரிற் கூடிய உடன்புணர் கங்குல்"

—(அகநானூறு-86)

Dr. Sanjivi has stated that "the marriage customs of ancient days was simple, without Sanskrit mantras or Vedic rites, the habit of tying Thali was not in vogue and there were no unwanted rituals."

But today ostentatious customs have increased in celebrations of marriages. Wealth, status and ostentation, have made marriage a gamble and, marriage has now become the measure of one's wealth and status.

In those days, only the equality of qualities of the couple viz., birth, behaviour, courage, age, personality, affection, maturity, benevolence, intelligence and wealth were emphasised—please see *Tholkappiyam Meipattiyal* 25 :

"பிறப்பே குடிமை ஆண்மை ஆண்டொடு
உருவு நிறுத்த காம வாயில்
நிறையே, அருளே, உணர்வொடு திருவென
முறையுறக் கிளந்த ஒப்பினது வகையே"

—(தொல்காப்பியம்-மெய்ப்பாட்டியல் 25)

In today's marriages, caste, money and status, dominate. Love marriages have become outdated. In those days man and woman married out of unity of hearts but, today love is not strong enough to batter down caste, money and status.

Even in the so called "reformed" marriages of today, the same standards are adopted. Eliminating Vedic rites does not make for a reformed marriage. Only elimination of caste, money and status will deserve commendation as a reformed marriage.

The changes in Tamil Society, were responsible for replacing the simple marriage with an ostentatious and ritualistic one. There was a sort of primitive communism in ancient Tamil society when, the majority shared the fruits of labour and caste system was not a consideration.

Today, caste and capitalism, rule the society and marriage and the customs following it are also dominated by them. One's status in society is judged by the ostentations of marriage.

Dowry, meaningless Vedic rites, luxurious presents, gorgeous robes, huge pavilions, showy decorations, music and cultural programmes, feeding by thousands, gilded invitations–all these find a place in today's marriages. As even persons without adequate resources attempt to have all these, they suffer by falling into debt.

Today, in the homes of primitive Tamils, the simple marriages take, place. and serve to remind us to some extent of the ancient Tamil custom. But even the ostention, seeks to spread gradually

with the result, a situation emerges that a marriage cannot be celebrated without running into debt.

Thiru P. Ālālasundaram in his "Marriage among Ancient Tamils" pleads for the investigation of the differences between the ostentations and costly modern marriages and, the ancient marriage customs, by scholars and the adherence to the best among the customs as expounded in Sangam literature".

The ancient Tamil cusotms though old, were simple and suited to the poverty-stricken people of Tamil Nad. The present day customs are totally unsuited and the day is not far off, when the present customs will be discarded in favour of the simple one.

S. Lakshmiratan Bharathi: Among the various successive stages of sex relationship of man and woman among ancient Tamils, like *Kātchi* (seeing), *Iyam* (Doubt), Āyvu (Enquiry), *Thelivu* (Conclusion), *Kalavu* (Clandestine courtship), *Karpu* (Married love), *Karanam* (ritual), which are analogus to the western stages of *Ethirpadal* (Rapport), *Arimugam* (self-revelation), *Sardal* (Mutual dependence), *Thévai Uruthal* (Need fulfilment), *Manam* (Marriage), today only *Karpu* (open love) and *Karanam* (Ritual) subsist in the Tamilian marriage system and now the ritual itself (regrettably) goes by the name of marriage.

Population groups, tribal, community and society, in seeking to regulate sex relationship among them created joint family and separate family systems, according to matrilineal and patrilineal systems. Similarly regulations had to be made regarding incest and marriage. Clandestine love and married love were recognised, as will be evident from the expression of words வரை (*Varai*), மணம் (*Manam*), மன்றல் (*Madral*), வதுவை (*Vaduvai*), occur in *Tholkāppiyam*, *Agananūru* and *Kalithogai*.

In Society while the right of the girl and the boy to select their life partners were recognised, the ancients regulated prohibitions and degree of relationship for marriage as is evident from *Tholkāppiyam*.

After recognition of clandestine love and marriage by the situational structure of society relationship, in course of time, these were lost sight of, and girls and boys were treated as

objects of barter and for this purpose the regulations were misused, for these uncivilised methods in marriage.

Regarding rules and regulations of cohabitation there is difference of opinion between Anthropologists and Sociologists. But in ancient days there was promiscuity, incest between mother and son, father and daughter, brothers and sisters, which later, on account of the recognition of male's part in progeny, resulted in restrictions on, indiscriminate promiscuity and allowing and strengthening of Endogamy and Exogamy systems in marriage.

On account of feelings and desires and enjoyment of senses and, the resulting marriage, birth, death and, incapacity and, fear of all these, a contemplation of a force beyond the natural human forces led to the institution of religion. Religious rituals and rites were instituted to correlate human acts with divine forces (vide Peter Berger: *The Social reality of Religion* 1969). From "*Sanskritising Social Process*" by M. N. Srinivas we can learn that, the Tamilian people's original restrictions, marriage etc. were sought to be transformed into sacred rites with the concomitant symbolism and meaning.

Only after continued thinking, can one discern these late foreign fusions in the real fundamental relationship of men and women.

N. Murugesa Mudaliar: (summary of speech): When talking on the Tamil Marriages, "Then and Now" it is necessary to define what time is denoted by the word "Then." It is difficult to speak about the prehistoric periods. But in Social History, anthropological evidence is sufficient. Mythology to some extent, reflects the state of Tamilian society but this can be seen only with Tamil mythology. We can also determine this with medieval and recent social History.

Looking from the anthropological view-point, only some aspects of ancient Tamil marriage custom subsist and agree with the present day customs. Even today among the Gonds, Savaras, and Munda tribes, the bridegroom ties a string, tied with palm leaf to the bride. *"Thali"* is a name for palm and even today the string is called '*Thali*' on account of the palm leaf.

In Tamil mythology, at the weddings of Pārvati, Deivayānai, Padmāvathi, tying of string and holding of hand are only described as marriage rituals. Vedic rites like circumambulation of fire, walking seven steps, are medievel interpolations. In the Vedic rites treading the millstone is not mentioned. That is a rite only in Tamilian marriages. We learn that *Muruga* touched *Valli's* feet and placed it on a stone. This practice is also followed in Toda marriages. The bridegroom has to prove his strength by lifting a huge stone.

Clandestine courtship and married love were common features of Tamil marriages. Clandestine does not mean theft. The lovers before marriage meet and later, inform their parents of their love through the girl's companion and marry regularly according to custom. This will be seen in the story of Valli's wedding. Sri Pāmban Swāmigal emphasises this also.

In modern Tamil marriages, tying of *Thzli* is an essential and common custom. This custom is not given up even in Social reform marriages. Even the Christians have not abandoned this custom. Tying the *Thali* before a number of people is the seal of registration of an honourable contract. We hear of திருட்டுத் தாலி (clandestine *Thali*). It is quite clear that this is not an enduring marriage. On account of advance of civilisation, new customs are added to marriage like feasting, music, photographing etc. But the tying of *thali* as an important custom, flourishes even now, as it was then.

Mylai Seeni Venkataswami: In olden days there were no marriage rites and a man and a woman who loved led a family life. But among them some left the family creating difficulties in social life. So to prevent such falsehoods and lapses, the social leaders instituted rituals for marriage by making a man and a woman undergo the rites of marriage, in the presence of a gathering and this has happened in all the countries of the world.

This happened in Tamil Nad also. *Tholkappiyam* indicates the reason for institution of marriage as rite, in its *Porulathikaram Karpial.*

"பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர்
ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணமென்ப"

Tholkappiyam was written long before this advent of Aryans, Jains and Buddhists in Tamil Nad. The Aryans and Aryan religions came into Tamil Nad only in 300 B.C. during the reign of Chandraputa Maurya and after him Asoka, but Tholkappiyam was written long before in 800 B.C. As it refers to falsehoods and lapses, and the priests evolving rites it is clear that the rites for prevention of lapses should have been in vogue long before.

Some give a wrong meaning to the term "Ayyar" in the expression ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணம் in this verse, saying that Brahmins evolved the rites. To say that ஐயர் means Brahmin is incorrect. ஐ, ஐயன், ஐயர் at the time of *Tholkappiyam* meant Elder Brother, Father, Elder, King and in those days, the Aryans never inhabited Tamil Nad and so, the term Iyer denotes only the elders in society and the verse signified that these elders evolved the rites. (A detailed examination of these will be found on pp. 62-71 of "*Some facts from History of Tamils in Sangam Period*" published by Annamalai University in 1970).

In those days, the Tamilians took to love marriage. Love during courtship was called *Kalavu* and after marriage *Karpu.*

But falsehood and lapses, did not disappear even after the institution of marriage rites. *Naṟṟinai* 216 cites the case of a man who ran away abandoning one Thirumāvunni, a peasant girl, after having courted and lived with her for some time, and thus ruined her life. *Agananuru* 256 cites another case, where, in similar circumstances, the man was traced and caught and punished by the villagers by tying him to a tree and pouring ashes on him.

The parent of the boy went seeking the parents of the girl whom he loved and the marriage was done, on an auspicious day, fixed by an Astrologer who was designated as கணியன் Kaniyan. Tamils were proficient in Astrology also. *Mangala vazhthuppādal* in *Silappadikāram* mentions that Kovalan married Kannagi on an auspicious day. *Aganānūru* 136 also speaks of a marriage on as astrologically determined auspicious day. The death of *Yanaikatchey Mantaram cheralirumporai Arasan* was predicted by astrological calculations from the fall of a meteor; seven days in advance—please see verse 229 of *Puranānūru.* From these it is quite clear that Tamilians were familiar with Astrology.

Family opposition sometimes made runaway matches possible. Verse 369 of *Agam* mentions such a case.

In the Sangam age, *Thali* was not used in marriage. All persons rich or poor wore only conch bangles, as a sign of marriage. The poor wore conch shells from anti-clock wise wound conches and the rich shells made from clock-wise wound conches but rich or poor wearing conch bangles was an important rite of marriage. *Nedn Nal Vadai* mentions the Nedunchezhiyan's queen, Pandima Devi wearing clock-wise wound conch shell. In *Silappadikaram* the reference to *மங்கல அணி* (auspicious adornment) at Kannagi's wedding, does not refer to *Mangalya Sutram* or *Thali* but only to the conch bangle. Sangam literature gives instance of women breaking the conch bangles at their husband's death. *Silappadikaram* also mentions that Kannagi did likewise at Kovalan's death.

Some people have wrongly written, that Kovalan's marriage with Kannagi was celebrated with a Vedic priest. This is totally wrong. Lines 50–53 in *Mangala Vazhlhu* of Silappadikaram is:

வானூர் மதியம் சகடணைய வானத்துச்
சாலி யொருமீன் தகையாளைக் கோவலன்
மாமுது பார்ப்பான் மறை வழிகாட்டிடத்
தீவலம் செய்வது காண்பார்கள் நோன்பென்னை

The words *பார்ப்பான்*, *மறை* and *தீவலம் செய்வது* creates confusion in ordinary minds. Superficially *பர்ர்ப்பான்* is supposed to refer to the Vedic priest, *மறை* to the four Aryan Vedas and *தீ* to Vedic fire. This is wrong. *பார்ப்பான்* does not refer to Brahmins among Hindus as there were and are Brahmins among Bnddhists, Jains, Saivaites and Vaishnavaites. *மறை* does not refer to Aryan Vedas but is only a common noun for sacred works of Jains, Buddhists, Saivaites and Vaishnavaites. Lighting Homa fire, is done by Jains, Saivaites and Vaishnavaites. The Jains condemned only sacrifice, but not the sacrificial fire, in which they fed parched grains.

Jains and Buddhists were born-enemies of Vedic Brahminical Religions. Kovalan and Kannagi were Jains and how could a Vedic priest conduct their marriage? It is quite clear that

a Jaina Brahmin lighting a fire according to Jaina scriptures conducted the marriage. Without knowing this, to contend that it was done according to Aryan rites is incorrect. Kovalan and Kannagi *all their lives* followed the Jaina religion.

The habit of conducting marriages with Purohits is stated to be of recent origin, during the reign of Vijayanagaram kings. This habit of engaging Purohits at marriages has not been adopted by all castes among Tamilians. The majority, perform marriages according to their custom without the purohit. Some who do not like Sanskrit mantras, celebrate marriages by recitations of Tamil scriptures. Some have abandoned the practice of stepping on millstone, showing Arundhati star etc. Self-respect marriages are also in vogue. Generally the educated are agreed that marriages should be economical. But today there are various kinds of marriages according to individual persuasions.

Tiruvalluvar without going into the merits and demerits of marriage systems, has only written about the conduct during married life and has stated that love and virtue are the two cardinal requirements of married life.

> "அன்பும் அறனும் உடைத்தாயின் இல்வாழ்க்கை
> பண்பும் பயனும் அது."

A couple should have love first and next virtue. Virtue is a social regulation and obligation and the couple should adhere to it. It includes chastity கற்புடைமை and non-coveting of another's wife (பிறனில் விழையாமை).

There can be no hard and fast regulation on the system of marriages and, multiplicity of systems is inevitable. But it is possible that if not today, in future, Registdred marriages will be adopted by all.

K. Ramalingam :

I. Tamil Marriages - Mode of Performance:

(i) *Preparing the marriage - place*:

1. *Marriage pavilion*: In the courtyard of the house four poles are erected, wrapped with coconut leaves and tied with plantain trees. The four sides of the pavilion are festooned with Mango leaves and flowers, to resemble a miniature grove. The place is decorated with drawings in flour (kolam) and red mud.

2. *Erection of main pole of pavilion*: As all marriages take place with God's grace, the marriage pavilion is regarded as God's grove and, three days before the marriage, five married ladies after worshipping God, erect one of the poles of the pavilion on the North-east corner, after having washed the pole with milk and turmeric powder. Then, the other poles are erected and the pavilion completed by the person entrusted with that work. As marriages are regarded as the basis of "a thousand year crop," 9 gems and 9 grains are poured into the pits in which the poles of the pavilion are erected.

3. *Marriage plank*: In order that the bridal couple may sit facing east, a long plank is placed on the western side after, spreading under it some paddy or rice.

4. *Full pots*: Opposite to the bridal couple and between the two eastern side poles, over some sand spread, two mud pots, decorated with tnrmeric and vermilion, filled with water are placed.

5. *Pot lamp*: Near the south-east pole of the pavilion a new mud pot filled with water covered with a concave lid in which oil is poured and lighted with a wick (with leaves tied round the lid to protect the flame from getting extinguished, is is placed on a wooden pounding block (*ural*) so that the pot may not tilt. A wooden mortar block is used as a stone one may cause the pot to break.

6. *Grain sprouts*: Nine mud vases filled with nine different grain sprouts, are placed in a row before the water-filled mud pots. The grains are damped to sprout even on the day of erection of the first pole of the pavilion.

7. *Mortar stone and pestle*: (*Ammi* and *kuzhavi*): A *Mortar* stone and a pestle adorned with turmeric and vermilion paste is placed on the North-east corner of the pavilion.

8. *Handlamps and Branched lamps*: In front of the pots filled with water a lighted lamp called Kamatchiamman lamp is placed. On the backside of these pots a lighted branched lamp will be placed.

9. *Ammaiappar*: In front of the water-filled pots and pots of sprouts, two metal pots will be placed on two round ended plantain leaves (தலைவாழை இலை) on which raw rice has been spread. The preceptor of the marriage will fill 3/4 of each of these pots with water, insert mango leaves on the neck of each and place on them coconuts not fully shorn of husk. The pots and the coconuts will be adorned with turmeric paste and vermilion mark. The coconuts will be further adorned with strips of white, green and red cloth and flower garlands. Before them betel nut, betel leaves fruits and turmeric roots will be placed.

Before the pots and coconuts are placed as described above a Pillayar of turmeric paste is made and offerings of flowers and fruits are made to it.

(ii) *Mode of Marriage*:

(a) *Earlier functions*:

1. *Nalangu for the marriage couple.* On the morning of the marriage, the bride and bridegroom are brought to the pavilion separetely by the best man and bride's maid and married women perform Nalangu to them.

2. *Sanctifying the Marriage robes*: The preceptor will place the marriage dress and garlands to be worn by the bride and bridegroom on a plate and, offer it to the Ammayappar.

3. *Blessings of audience to the marriage dress*: The plate containing the dress is then circulated for blessings, by the elders among the audience to touch and bless it.

4. *Giving marriage dress*: The preceptor then gives away the dress and garlands intended to each of the bridal couple who are brought there for the purpose, by the best man and bride's maid.

5. *Planting of "Arasanikkal"—Peepul tree pole*: A pole of peepul tree with leaves, smeared with turmeric paste and decorated with vermilion marks and garlands, is caused to be erected by five married ladies to the accompaniment of loud music, before the waterpots and in between the two eastern poles. This is the peepul tree pole (அரசாணிக் கால்) of the marriage.

6. *Marriage pudding (Pongal)*: On the eastern side of the pavilion, married ladies will place on leaves, rice boiled in a mud pot and the bridal couple, adorned with marriage robes and garlands, ambulate the pavilion clockwise, stand before the offerings, light camphor and worship god.

7. *Tying of bands*: The bride and bridegroom will be made to sit on the plank with the bride sitting to the right of the bridegroom. Then the preceptor will tie an yellow threaded band with a turmeric root to the peepul tree pole and then, tie a band to the bridegroom's wrist. He will also make the bridegroom tie a similar band on the bride's wrist. Loud music will be played on the occasion of tying of these bands.

8. *Worship of parents*: The bridegroom will offer worship at the feet of his parents and the bride will do likewise for her parents, both with the help of the preceptor.

9. *Giving away for protection*: The bridegroom's parents will hold his right hand while the bride's parents will place her right hand on it and bless the couple for a long life of love.

(b) *Central functions*:

1. *Worship of God*: On a plate spread over with rice, the marriage cord with the *Thali* (marriage badge) attached to it and wound round on a turmeric and vermilion smeared coconut, is placed and the marriage couple will worship the two metal pots dropping flower on them.

2. *Blessings of the assembly to marriage cord (Thali)*: The preceptor by himself or through some elder, take out the plate containing the marriage cord to the assembly, for the persons comprising it to touch and bless it.

Along with him another person will carry a plate with rice damped in turmeric paste and flowers and, those assembled will

each take a small quantity of this, for blessing the bridal couple by showering it on them.

3. *Worship of Fire I (worshipping God in the form of fire)*: The preceptor will make a fire with 9 varieties of sticks with ghee and the bridegroom will maintain the fire by pouring ghee on it.

4. *Tying the marriage cord*: The bridegroom will tie the marriage cord holding it in both the hands, round the neck of the bride putting three knots while his sister will hold the lamp at the back of the bride. After the knots are made, turmeric paste will be smeared and vermilion mark made on it. At the time of tying of knot, loud music will be played and the assembly will bless the couple by showering the turmeric rice and flowers.

5. *Affixing badge of recognition*: (பட்டம் கட்டுதல்) All old relatives of the couple and those newly related by this marriage, tie a small gold plate or coin, stringed through a thread, on the foreheads of the newly weds mentioning their relationship as mother-in-law, sister-in-law etc.

6. *Exchange of garlands*: The couple get up and exchange garlands three times.

7. *Circumambulating clockwise*: An young girl will lead a procession with the lamp on a plate followed, by younger girls each carrying a mudpot of the sprouts of grains, clockwise, followed at the end, by the best man leading the bridegroom by the latter's left hand, and the bridegroom leading the bride by holding her left little finger with his right little finger. The audience will rejoice at the sight and the parents of the couple will drop cash on the plate held by the leader of this procession, at the corners of the pavilion.

8. *Treading the mortar stone*: The bridegroom will then lead the bride to the mortar stone, lift her right foot, place it over the stone and fit a silver ring on her second toe. Next he will do likewise for the second toe of the left leg.

9. *Offering of Puffed rice*: At the end of one round of the pavilion, the bride's brother will offer rice to the bride who will pass it on to the bridegroom and the bridal couple will both drop it in the fire. This will be repeated at the second and third rounds at the end of which, the bridegroom will offer

Sandalpaste, Rosewater to his brother-in-law, garland him and fix a ring on the latter's finger called "*Pori Modhiram.*"

When the bridegroom presents this ring to his brother-in-law, the latter also fixes on the second toe of the bridegroom, a silver ring called Mettu (மெட்டு).

(c) *Concluding Ceremonies*:

1. *Solemn declaration or pledge*: Sitting after circumambulating clockwise the marriage pavilion, the bridal couple make a solemn declaration to lead the married life successfully. This solemn declaration will be written on two sheets of paper signed by the couple, the preceptor and, the elders and, one each given to the bride and bridegroom.

2. *Worship of Fire* II (to ward off evil influences of stars etc.) The fire which has dwindled will now, be rekindled with sticks fed with ghee and worshipped.

3. *Untying the band*: First the band tied to the peepul tree pole and then, the bands tied to the wrists of the wedded couple, will be untied to the loud play of music.

4. *Interchange of seats*: The bridegroom sitting to the right, will make the bride who is now dear to him, to sit on his left hand side, in which side his heart, is situated.

5. *Marriage presents*: Persons who want to give presentations to tho newly wedded couple will do so.

6. *Blessings with rice*: Elders will bless the couple by pouring rice in front of the couple. Blessing is also done by smearing sacred ash (*vibuti*).

7. *Waving of vermilion water*: To ward off the evil eye, an elderly married lady or two conjointly, will wave vermilion water before the couple.

8. *Circumambulation*: Again the couple preceded by a train of young girls, circumambulate clockwise the pavilion and coins will be dropped on the plate this time, by the bridegroom's party in case the bride's party did it at the previous circumambulation.

9. *Serving of milk and fruits*: To ward off weariness the couple will be served with milk and fruits on their return to the

house from the pavilion. First the bestman will taste it and next the couple. Before the bestman tastes it, presents will be given to him.

(iii) *Greetings* :

The couple will be seated on chairs in the assembly and elders will give speeches of advice and blessings.

II. Explanation for the mode of performance :

Every performance has a good idea behind it. The marriage of ancient Tamils took place in a grove. A man and woman got united in love and took the peepul tree as witness. That only by God's grace marriages are settled, is the belief of Tamils.

The pavilion is intended to remind the grove. As marriages are settled by divine grace, the ceremony of planting the pole of the pavilion takes place. To show that the peepul tree was evidence of marriage, the Peepul Root pole is planted in the pavilion.

To indicate that the domestic life of the couple should be fully presperous, two auspiciously decorated pots full of water are placed for the couple to see.

The light shining within each of the two of the couple, should, after marriage shine singly and openly, is indicated by the pot lamp. This lamp should not die out and hence it is protected with leaves. After the marriage, this lamp still burning, is kept in a sacred place within the house.

The nine varieties of sprouted grains placed before them, is to indicate that they should also grow in respect of their knowledge, ability, wealth, honour etc.

The mortar stone and pestle, are intended to signify that the couple can do everything well, only when acting together as, once the mortar stone and pestle are separated, no benefit will result.

In Tamilian marriages, not only the mortar stone but also the pestle is kept. In other marriages, only one of them or, an ordinary stone will be seen. Preceptors of such marriages have been heard to state that to remind one of Ahalya's curse or for the couple to take the first of the seven steps, any stone will do.

The handlamp (Kamakshiamman lamp) is useful at the time of tying the marriage cord and, for carrying it at the time of circumambulation.

The branched lamp is not for decoration alone. If one among them goes out, the other lamps will burn and all lamps cannot go out simultaneously creating inauspiciousness.

The whole world comprises of the male and female. Even in inanimate objects, there is a male and female. Electricity is static. But we call the masculine and feminine power in it as positive and negative. The all-knowing, all-powerful Supreme being, who maintains the Universe, was worshipped as male and female, *Mal* and *Thiru, Ammai Appan* by our ancients. The two metal pots are intended to indicate the presence of the Supreme being, before the wedding couple. This is common to both Saivaites and Vaishnavaites.

The rice spread under the wedding plank, on which the couple sit, is indicative of the desire that there should be no dearth of paddy and rice in their lives. Rice problem is the main problem and only after that is solved, other problems can be solved (*"அன்ன விசாரம் அதுவே விசாரம்" அது ஒழிந்தால் தான் பிற விசாரங்கள்.*)

The Nalangu is intended to prepare the couple for the householder's life and, is a delightful function to inculcate in their minds, the need to mix and move in society.

The offering of the bridal couple's dress to God and seeking of blessings of the assembly to it, signifies that before they appear as a couple, God's grace and people's good wishes will be essential.

The Peepul tree in ancient days, witnessed the lovers in the grove. It is the best among the grove trees and, the married women planting its branch, is indicative of the desire that the married couple should lead a long and prosperous life, like the Peepul tree.

The offering of boiled rice is intended for those who work at the marriage. Before sitting on the marriage plank, the bridal couple are sought to be instilled with the idea of hospitality. In some families this practice is not in vogue.

The band tied to the couple is indicative of the determination of the couple, to lead a householder's life successfully and the tying of the band to the Peepul tree pole, is to make that tree a witness to this determination.

In ancient days in Tamilnad, a couple fell in love, in groves and decided to marry and get the consent of their parents later. The worship of the feet of parents of each of the couple signifies this.

In the absence of the parents, this worship of feet is offered to another married couple.

The giving away of bride, for protection is an ancient Tamil custom adumbrated in Sangam poetry. This is not like giving away the bride with pouring of water, obtaining in other systems of marriage. As the bride is equal in all good things with the bridegroom, it is against Tamilian Tradition to gift her to the bridegroom. A woman is not an article to be gifted. She is animate with six senses. Slavery of woman to man, is not in vogue among Tamilians.

There is no need to explain the need to Worship God. At this unique function in their lives as man and wife, is it not necessary to worship the omnipresent omnipotent being?

The marriage cord is wound over the coconut which is secured from shaking, by the rice spread underneath it, on the plate. To enable those assembled to touch and bless the marriage badge, with a pure mind, the badge will be kept uppermost for them to see and by touching which, they become witnesses to the marriage.

The loud music played at the time of tying of marriage cord, is to draw the attention of the assembly to it, so that it can bless by showering the turmeric rice and flowers and bear witness to the marriage.

Worship of fire is to help in worshipping the Almighty in the orm of Light. God permeates himself in earth, water, fire, air and space and to medicate on this, two pots with water are placep on earth, fire is raised and worshipped. Air and space are mingled with the preceding three elements and hence worship of Ammaiyappar represented by the pots and fire tantamount to the worship of the five elements.

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Whether or not the worship of fire had a place at Tamil marriage is a topic for research. But worship of light, as an important part of the marriage rituals commends itself to reason.

The worship of fire for a second time, is worshipping God as light, to ward off influence of evil stars.

The holding of lamp by the sister of the bridegroom is not only to remove the darkness at the pavilion but, to have the bridegroom's own sister as a witness to the tying of the marriage cord.

The *Thali* of Tamils is shaped like a Tiger's teeth. This is indicative of the prowess of the bridegroom to kill a tiger.

The adorning with vermilion (*kumkum*) the bride's forehead by the bridegroom, after tying the marriage cord is indicative, not only of auspiciousness but affords an opportunity for the first time, for the bridegroom to touch his bride's head, girdling the bride's neck with his hand.

The tying of recognition badge by relatives, old and new, is to establish their relationship with the newly weds.

The exchange of garlands by the couple before others, is an auspicious event and, bowing the head by one to receive the garland from the other, is indicative of the spirit of accommodation. When circumambulating, the bridegroom himself takes the bride's hand, while earlier the others (parents of the girl) placed her hand on the bridegroom at the beginning of the function.

The circumambulation of the pavilion following a girl with a lamp and other girls with grain sprouts, is to inculcate the idea of the path of married life of the couple being illuminated and sprouting with all prosperity and their walking behind the train, is their following this path with erect heads. It is to be noted that only young girls in teens carry the sprouts and not adults or elders.

There is great significance in the treading of mortar stone. By this the bridegroom signifies to the bride that in his house, she has a permanent and heavy responsibility. It also signifies that the couple have unshakeable chastity. It also indicates that whatever they do, the couple will perform it jointly.

It is this function which signifies that the bridegroom who had previously touched her head and hand now touches her feet also before others, indicating that she wholly belongs to him.

Showering of puffed rice (பொரியிடுதல்) is significant of the bridegroom engaging his brother-in-law for his errands. When the bridegroom goes to his mother-in-law's house the brother-in-law will be helpful to summon the bride from the kitchen. This brother-in-law also serves as the liaison between the new bridegroom and other relatives in his mother-in-law's house. The bridegroom by getting his help in showering puffed rice, garlanding him and presenting him with a ring brings him under his influence.

The solemn declaration pledge, is a *sine a qua non.* The bridal couple will read it over the loudspeaker, take it and receive the blessings of the assembly. The wording of the pledge will be in consonance with Tamil tradition.

After the worship of fire for the second time and untying of the marriage band the bride and the bridegroom will exchange places, the bride sitting to the left of her husband. She was regarded till marriage as foreign to him but, after marriage she becomes his and, sits nearer to his heart on the left side.

There is also another idea behind this. In all religious functions the wife will be on the husband's right. Just as a man has no carnal desires with woman, other than his wife during such religious functions, the wife is made to sit on his right, indicative of the idea that carnal desires have no place at religious functions. Right side is the place of Masculinity.

Presents are made by friends and relatives who gather round to show their affection and solicitude. Their coming together (மொய்த்துக் கொண்ருதல்) for this purpose has led to the name (மொய் எழுதுதல்) (clustering to write) for this function, which delights the couple.

The presents, offer some relief to the parents of the couple at the time, when they incur heavy expenditure on marriage. Later, when similar functions occur at the houses of the persons who make the present, presents are made in return.

Pouring of rice in front of the newly weds, is indicative of idea of the wish of fullness and prosperity for the couple.

III. Mantras :

The Mantras chanted at the wedding are culled out suited to the occasion from Tamil religious literature. *Tolkappiyam* defines this as—

"நிறை மொழி மாந்தர் ஆணையிற் கிளந்த
மறை மொழி தானே மந்திரம் என்ப"

So mantra can be in any language and in Tamil. The word என்ப signifies that long before Tholkappiyar there was a lot of Mantra literature in Tamil.

IV. Opportunity for all to take part :

The Tamil marriages give an opportunity to friends well wishers and relatives to take part. Marriage is the most important and joyous function in man's life. In such a function, it is essential that all have to play a part in one way or other. The Tamil marriage provides an opportunity for this.

All workmen and artisans have a share in marriage. The potter supplies mudpots for the marriage. He alone knows the specific requirements of pots for each of the functions at the marriage. The dhobi feeds the branch lamp with oil. It is he who spreads a cloth on which, the rice poured before the couple, falls. The rice thus poured is his, by right. The boiled rice offered in worship is shared by him with the potter. The coconut and rice kept on the plate, at the time of tying the band (காப்பு) is given to the barber. The goldsmith who manufactures the marriage badge, is also given presents. The musicians, the pavilion constructors, all take part in the marriage. Thus in the Tamil marriage all relatives and the entire society, have their part to play in it as a social function.

V. Tamil Tradition kept even now :

It is not possible to state when this system of marriage came into vogue. Whn falsehood and deception crept in, in order to maintain the unity of husband and wife, this should have been brought into vogue at the time of Tholkappiyar. The creeping in of such functions, can be observed in the description of marriage of Kovalan and Kannagi in *Silappadhikaram.*

Decoration of marriage pavilion like a grove, the marriage pledge of the couple, the placing of both the mortar stone and pestle, the handing over of bride to bridegroom by parents etc. cannot be seen even today in marriages, not conforming to Tamilian Traditions. Noticing the absence of filled pots of water, pot lamp, sprouted grains and performance of marriage in a hall, without decoration as a grove, at a marriage, when the priest concerned was questioned about, this, elicited a reply "What they were for". At that marriage, only a block of stone was noticed and when asked whether in its place a grinder and pestle was not necessary, it was stated that a stone was sufficient to remind the marriage couple of Ahalya and for performing the *Saptapati* (seven steps).

Everywhere in Tamil Nad, the habit of decorating the marriage hall as a grove is in vogue among Tamilians even to this day. In the marriages in Tirunelveli, the bridal couple are made to sit on a swing and after singing "Tiruppon Ūsal" (திருப் பொன்னூசல்) "The auspicious gold swing," from *Tiruvāsakam*, the marriage cord is tied. This reminds one of the play the lovers had, in a grove in ancient Tamil Nad.

Tamil "Tirumanam" (திருமணம்) is not "*Vivāham*" (விவாஹம்). Not knowing the meaning of *Vivāham*, a Sanskrit Professor was requested to elucidate it. He replied that the word meant "carrying away", that "Vahánam" is vehicle for lifting derived from "Vah," meaning lift, that "Vi" is a prefix meaning 'special' "not comparable" and that, 'specially carrying away" is the meaning of Vivah which later became Vivaham.

Only persons who perform child marriages can give away children in marriage seating them on their laps. At such marriages, even at the time of exchange of garlands, the children have to be held up for it and a bridegroom has to carry on his shoulder the bride, when taking her to his native place as the bride, being a child, cannot walk. Hence marriage was described as Vivāham according to this Professor. Even to this day, we can see among those who follow *other* systems of marriage, the custom of a 25 year old bride sitting on the laps of her father at the time of marriage.

In Sanskrit the wife is termed '*Bharya*' and the husband '*Bhartha*' terms which mean "bear," "carry," "lift." This is a matter for some thought.

The word "*Manam*" carries with it the meanings of intimate mixing, opportunity to enjoy fruits of earth, getting status of life of honour, getting facilities of sweet life etc. The fact that fragrance is emitted only when a flower blooms, so the marriage can take place only when maturity is reached, is emphasised in Tamil marriages. There is no place for child marriage in Tamilian Tradition.

Not only in Tamil Nād, but among Tamils in other States and among persons speaking languages having connections with Tamil, the practice of adopting Tamilian system of marriage in a grove, is in vogue.

The Nāyak Kings wanted to introduce Sanskrit mantras in the marriages in Tamil Nād, then in vogue for many centuries. And Āryas of Tamil Nād refused to perform marriages with Sanskrit mantras to Non-Aryas. The Nāyak kings imported Brahmins from Andhra and gave them the right to perform the ceremonies with Sanskrit mantras. This is proved by the fact that the purohits in Tirunelveli District are Āndhra Brahmins. It is significant that the Telugu Brahmins are not invited at Tamilian Brahmin marriage ceremonies. Nor do the Tamilian Brahmins perform the ceremonies in the house of those Telugu Brahmins.

Retaining the original decorations of marriage hall, the Telugu Purohit newly introduced into the ceremony:—(1) the practice of the temporary conversion of the bridegroom as a Brahmin (2) adorning him with the sacred thread uttering Sanskrit mantras and (3) making the bridegroom go on *Kasi yatra*. Following the Āryan Tradition, the practice of gifting away the bride by pouring water was also introduced.

Tamil marriage is one in which the newly introduced *three* customs, not wanted by Tamils, and chanting of Sanskrit mantras according to one's own fancy, are discarded. This Tamil marriage customs preserve the tradition of Tamils of several thousands of years. All others were interpolated by Purohits. This is the type, respected by all Tamils and such of those Non-Āryas talking languages having Tamilian affinity. May this Tamil

system of marriage having many virtues which bring lustre to Tamils, discards all superstitions but includes all essentials, spread throughout the land and glorify Tamil lives.

Ālalasundaram: The literature of Sangam age and later periods, are useful in knowing the marriage customs of Tamils. The love-relationship between a man and a woman are of two kinds; one is courting and the other married life. The courting without others' knowledge (clandestinely) is called *kalavozhukkum.* That such a thing was in vogue among people in *Kurinchi*, *Mullai*, *Marudam*, *Neydal* and *Pālai* is clear from Sangam works like *Tolkāppiyam*. After courting (*kalavu*) the couple will seek a married life (*karpu*). *Karpu* is a man marrying according to rites a girl given away by her parents. This is clear from :—

"கற்பெனப்படுவது கரணமொடு புணரக்
கொளற்குரி மரபிற் கிழவன் கிழத்தியைக்
கொடைக்குரி மரபினோர் கொடுப்பக்கொள்வதுவே"

In olden days, there was no marriage ceremony after clandestine courtship (*kalavu*). Later, there were deceptions and lapses. Some among the couples who were courting clandestinely denied their courtship and abandoned each other. The elders observing this, insisted that marriage (*Karpozhukkam*) should necessarily follow clandestine courtship (*kalavozhukkam*) and instituted rituals and customs for marriage as is clear from :—

"பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர்
ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரணமென்ப"

Information on rituals followed in ancient Tamil marriages can be gathered from Sangam works like *Agananūru*. Stanzas 86, 136 etc. of this work contain references to marriage. A hero accosted by the lady companion of his beloved, describes his previous marriage thus. "The marriage took place on the day of conjunction of Moon with *Rohini*. Sand was spread under the marriage porch which was adorned with festoons and lighted with rows of lamps from early morning. Elderly ladies carrying pots of water, bathed the bride blessing her that she may be forever chaste and beloved of her husband. This bathing was called "*Vaduvai Nanmanam*" (வதுவை நன்மணம்). Then with blessing from parents the bride was given away to the bridegroom. Then a grand feast took place." This ancient system of marriage under-

went many changes later. I would like now to speak of marriage customs of Āyira Vysia Community. As there were thousand Vysias who took to commerce they are called "Beri Vysias." There are many divisions among this Beri Vysias as *Achiru-pākkathār, Telungu-pākkathār, Tiruttanigaiyār* etc. Some marry within their division or sect. Some are vegetarians but many are non-vegetarians. All wear the *Poonool* (sacred thread). They do not allow widow marriage. They were called Āyira Vysiar (one thousand Vysias) because they have one thousand gōtras (septs). They lived in Kavirippoompattinam. A Chola king sought a girl in marriage from this community and as they refused, they were driven out by him. A History of this community will be found in Thurston's, 'The Caste and Tribes of Southern India." (Govt. Press, Madras, 1909).

The legend of Beri Chetties as given by H. A. Stuart (c.f. *Manual of North Arcot District*) is as follows :

"*The Manual of North Arcot District* states that Kaveripuram near Kumbakonam was formerly the town in which the caste principally resided......The king wanted a Beri Chetty maiden but was refused. He therefore persecuted them.

Beri Chettiars have a number of endogamous divisions named after geographical areas Towns etc. such as Tirutaniyār Achiru-pākkathār, Telugu Pākkam and, Musalpakkām. Among these there is an order of social precedence, some of the divisions inter-dining, others not.

While the Beri Chettiar's were living at Kaveripuram in a thousand houses, each house bearing a distinct Gotra (house name), a king who took wives from among all castes wanted Beries to give him one of their maidens. Though unwillingly they promised to do so the made up their mind to get over the difficulty by a ruse. On the day fixed for the marriage, all Beri Chettiars' families left the place after a male black dog had been tied to the main-post of the marriage pandal. When he learnt what had occurred the king Beri Chettiar's was very angry and forbade all castes to take water from the Beri Chettiar's. And this led to their joining the left hand section.........

All the divisions wear sacred thread and do not tolerate widow re-marriage.

A number of Ayira Vysias (called also Chettiars) incur debts to celebrate marriage due to vain and luxurious expenditure. Apparently the proverb "Chettiars (actual) life will be known only after his death." (செத்தால் தெரியும் செட்டியார் வாழ்வு) refers to this improvident habit. Before the marriage, a function called "கெட்டி தாம்பூலம்" (Firm contract) takes place. In this close relatives of the couple take part. After this, there is formal betrothal at which the bridegroom's party have to bring 21 plates of presents, one of which will contain a doll and varieties of sweets. These 21 plates will be brought in procession with music, hand dummy horse dance etc. and it is then, betrothal takes place after which, there will be a big feast. After this, there will be a full day function for worship of *Pillyar* (Vinayagar) at which offerings of parched grams, sweet balls etc. will be made and all those who visit the house that day, will be fed with sweets, savouries and coffee. After this both in the bride's and bridegroom's house there will be a number of *poojas* (worship) to various deities like *Perumal* etc. The marriage is performed by the bridegroom's party but in some places the bride's party celebrates the marriage as a *Kannika dhanam*. The marriage will be celebrated in a grand manner for five days, after which the bridal couple will be taken round in a grand procession, with fireworks in display. The bridegroom will incur such a debt that even after begetting two children, he will find it difficult to clear the debt proving the adage "celebrate a marriage and build a house (you will know what it is)." In all, about Rs. 10,000 will be spent for a marriage. Rs. 3000 to Rs. 4000 will have to be given to the bride's party for jewels. The marriage in most cases is performed by the bridegroom's party. Only as a *Kannika dhanam*, will the bride's party perform the marriage. I married my maternal uncle's daughter in 1937 and I wanted to make some reforms and, asked my uncle's permission. I wanted to limit the function to 3 days but other did not agree stating it will be regarded as a tame function but, I succeeded in cancelling the betrothal ceremony. My uncle had four daughters and spent all his wealth in their marriages and suffered financially at the closing years of his life. There are a number of families thus ruined by pompous weddings. After the war with China. there was rationing and, as a consequence, the marriages of five days and three days became a single day's marriage and so, there was at least one good effect on account of introduction of rationing.

Among the Āyira Vysias five persons will have to go round to invite for the .wedding, a male and female from each of the bride's party and bridegroom's party and, a common relative who knows all invitees. They have to go to each house with betel leaves, nuts, and printed invitation and for this alone, an expenditure of Rs. 500 will be incurred. Now, due to increase in cost of betel leaves and nuts, only the invitation cards are given. If the ladies are not specially invited, only the males will attend the wedding and hence both men and ladies have to be invited. This custom of personal invitation should be changed and it should be sufficient to invite by post. At least, in future this community should celebrate the marriages at a lesser cost.

As stated by Tiruvalluvar in his verse :—

"ஆகாறு அளவிட்டாதாயினுங் கேடில்லை
போகாறு அகலாக்கடை"

it does not matter if our income is less but, our expenditure should not be more. Let us hope we realise this, avoid wasteful expenditure, on all functions auspicious and otherwise and, spend according to our means and live happily.

Thirumathi Krishna Sanjeevi:

Families, which are limbs of society, are established through marriages. Marriage customs are changing according to communities, times, changes in economic status of people, their influences and revolutionary ideas.

But we see a number of practices common in marriage rites. The reasons for this are twofold. One is imitation. some communities shaping their marriage practices in imitation of another. The other is, while attempting to seek purohits or gurus to perform the marriage, the whims of the people concerned come into play or, the whims of the purohits and gurus in doing this work, come into play. On account of these, we see difference is marriage practices.

The list appended shows the marriage practices of different communities.

LIST

Actions and functions:

1. *Judging suitability*: (a) *through horoscopes and* (b) *mental satisfaction*: A girl of a lower financial status and, a boy of a higher financial status is sought.

Significance: (a) Consanguinity is avoided. (b) A rich girl will not be submissive and, it is believed that a poor girl will be suitable for family life.

Practice: The (Brahmin) priest is consulted by Brahmins; *Valluvars* by Ādi Drāvidas; *Ōthuvārs* and *Ganikars* by other communities, regarding suitability.

2. (a) *Bride's party seeking alliance*:

Significance: If bride's party seek alliance it, will be subordinate and submissive.

Practice: Arranging for the girl to be seen (by Brahmin community only).

(b) *Bridegroom's party seeking alliance*:

Significance: This lends honour to the bride and prestige to her parents.

Practice: The bridegroom's party go over to see the bride. The bridegroom is seen by bride's father, brothers and others. (This is observed by all communities).

(c) *Observing the bride closely by making her sing, walk etc.*:

Significance: To verify if there are defects in sight, hearing and to notice bodily infirmity, if any

Practice: She is asked to sing, play on instruments, walk, serve food and plait the locks of hair. (This is done in all communities).

(d) *Observing the bridegroom by making him walk and talk*:

Significance: To assess his physique.

Practice: To see him in his office or, at a public place (This is done by all communities).

(e) *Mental satisfaction regarding character*:

Significance: If there is identity of views and of culture between the elders of the parties, the marriage can be performed. Astrological suitability is dedided on 10 points, but only eight can be tallied. But suitability on three alone is regarded as good. *Chevvāi* (Mars), *Kéttai, Moolam and Āyilyam* stars are to be avoided.

Practice: By the closeness of the family ties and unity, verification of relationship etc., the suitablity is judged (by all communities).

Marriage arrangements :

3. *Writing of Lagna patrikā, Marriage agreement - Betrothal, providing light refreshments, giving of betel leaf and nut, Making of Marriage cord or, its purchase without weighment or bargaining*:

Significance: This is to confirm the agreement arrived at by signing the agreement to prevent going back on it or practising of deceit. It is also, to fix the date, month and auspicious star and time of the performance of marriage.

Practice: The parents of the couple exchange garlands. They also exchange a written agreement giving their names and of the grand parents of the couple after signing it Sugar, coconuts, plantain fruits, betel nut and leaves are brought and exchanged. (This is adopted by Brahmins and others. The latter do this conjointly with betrothal and there are some Brahmins also who do likewise).

4. *Betrothal - Confirmation of Marriage proposal - Feast.*

5. *Fixing auspicious time of marriage*:

Significance: (4) To confirm the marriage contract. Giving of jewels and advancing dowry.

(5) Drafting of invitation indicating the star, time, date, day and month of marriage.

Practices for 4 and 5 :

(1) Bridegroom's party bringing saree, jacket, jewels for presentation to bride with 9 or 11 plates containing other presentations (common to all communities).

(2) Seating the girl on a white cloth on a plank over a place where, paddy and sand are spread (common to all communities).

(3) Making presents of all new things with blessings (common to all communities).

(4) Lighting the pedestal lamp and performing *Nalangu* with sandal paste, kumkum, rosewater, flowers by 9 or 11 ladies (common to all communities).

(5) Feast, giving of betel leaves and nuts offering of sandal paste etc. (common to all communities).

(6) Tying coconut, betel leaves and nut to the apron of the girl (Brahmins only).

6. *Prayers to sumangalis (Sumangali Prārthana), Samārādhana worship of family deity, worship of Māriamman and distribution of gruel.*

Significance: This is in remembrance of virgins and married ladies (who died), of family deity and the town's border deities. To get the wholehearted blessings of these three, food or gruel, and clothes are presented.

Practice: A grand feast is provided; 9 yds. sarees with blouse or, merely a blouse is presented with coconut to 5 or 9 married ladies. (followed by Brahmin and other communities). Worship of family deity as above according to tradition (by other communities).

Worship of Mariamman, border deities, by villagers who are landlords, (practised by other communities).

7. *Erection of Marriage porch 9, 7, 5 or 3 days in advance.*

Significance: This is done by the party performing the marriage to remove defects and to engender growth in prosperity.

Practice: (1) Nine gems or three among them (gold, pearl and coral) are placed in the pit, dug for erection of posts of the marriage porch, by 3 or 5 married ladies, who then erect the posts smeared with turmeric paste and adorn it with *kumkum* marks and tie mango leaves. The other three posts are erected by the men employed to erect the porch. Nine varieties of pulses (*Nava danyam*) are also sown at the legs of the poles for them to sprout. (This practice is common to all communities.)

8. *Janavasam or Vara Puja, the evening before the Wedding, Bringing in procession, the boy or girl to the place of wedding and feast.*

Significance: This is to introduce parties to others, to give an opportunity to point out possible defects of the boy or girl, to justify the status of the contracting parties of the marriage, and to exhibit the richness of the dress of the bride and bridegroom.

Practice: (1) Each party goes to the temple with their requirements of garlands, dress, coconut, fruits, betel and nut to the temple.

(2) Performing of *Nalangu* and serving of *Panagam* (sweet drink) or coffee.

(3) Dressing with new clothes and bringing the couple in procession.

(4) After reaching the marriage house, counteracting, the evil eye by waving camphor, coconut and coloured rice balls.

(5) Feast.

(These practices are special to Brahmins and other communities also adopt them).

9. *Auspicious bath with oil on the morning of marriage day at the combination of Rohini and Moon*: *Oil Nalangu, Purification*:

Significance: Rendering the bridal couple pure.

Practice: (1) *Nalangu* is performed by 5 or 9 women.

(2) Bath (These two are practised by Brahmins and other communities).

(3) Worship with wedding clothes (koorai) and marriage cord (*thāli*) (practised by Fishermen and Harijans and, some few other communities).

10. *Wearing the sacred thread – or doubling it. Wearing of the sacred thread by those who have not worn it before:*

Significance: (a) Making a Brahmāchari (Bachelor) a married man.

(b) Investing with *Yagnōpaveetham* (Sacred thread) to the chanting of *Gāyathri* and immediately doubling it.

Practice: If the wearing of sacred thread is for the first time, it is performed as the *Upanayanā* fuuction. (This practice is followed by all those who wear sacred thread). The Ādi Drāvidas give sacred ash to wear (*vibhuthi*) and show the sun. (This is common to all).

11. *Decorating the marriage porch with Mudpots, pot lamp, Yoke, Piled pulse pudding and other puddings.*

Significance: Arranging essentials for the wedding ceremonies.

Practice: (1) *Arasānippānai* (pot of king's decree) (2) Full pot (3) Pot lamp (4) Measure (*Marakkāl*) of paddy (5) Pedestal lamp (6) Sprouted grains in pots and, presentation articles (practice common to all). (7) Piled pulse pudding and Yoke (Brahmins only).

12. *Boiling Wedding Rice – Worship of Thāli (marriage ccrd, Boiling of Rice at marriage porch.*

Siguificance: Worship for the auspicious (successful) celebration of the marriage;

Practice: Worship with special preparation (done by majority of non-Brahmins).

13. *Kāsi Yātra – Brother-in-law or father-in-law washing bridegroom's feet:*

Significance. Conferring privileges to one, who was alone and subject to restrictions. Running away from responsibilities of married life, after anointing the eye with collyrium, looking into

a mirror; arranging locks and, decorating oneself and deriving pleasure with umbrella, sandals, fan etc. Bringing him back with promise of giving a girl (in marriage).

Practice: Bringing back the man who wants to renounce in anger and disgust, after pacifying him with promise to give a girl to enable him to evolve step by step. (common to all). Mentioning all this with a pot of wet rice and chillies (That these will be given till the end, is assured by the girl—practised by some communities—Naidu).

14. *Swing*: *(Oonjal)*.

Significance: "We came from God. We were united by God. Even when tossed to and fro like waves, we will unite to overcome difficulties and seek happiness like the swing." This is to get a mental culture needed for married life.

Practice: Warding off evil eyes by waving balls of yellow, red, white rice, and turmeric water (by Brahmins only).

15. *Planting of pole of "king's decree" and Arasanikkal (அரசாணிக்கால்). ond tying a band round it.*

Significance: Previously, the function took place under the presidency of the king. Later this was not possible and so to represent the king. a pole of Peepul (அரச மரம்) tree was erected. (like Registering the marriage). The *Arasani* pot represents the king's help, fertility in field, increase in income, saving and, prosperous life, as well as protection.

Practice: Planting near or along with the pole of the marriage porch, a branch of the peepul tree, with mango leaves tied to its top, smeared with turmeric, marked with vermilion and tied with silk and flowers. (This is common to all communities but among Brahmins the priest performs this function).

16. *Vrata (penancc) by bridal couple*:

Significance: To attain purity.

Practice: Fasting (common to all).

17. *Presentation of New Clothes (Wearing with special folds) Blessings by elders.*

Significance: Changes in environment, circumstance habits indicated by new method of dress. Beginning of a new function.

Practice: Changing the mode of dress (Brahmins and some among, other communities). Dressing without change. (Most people of other communities).

18. *Raising sacrificial fiire, Chanting mantras, Ankurarppanam: Sprinkling water even earlier for three days:*

Significance: Fire is a witness. To burn away all evils among themselves and those connected with them.

Practice: Repeating the mantras chanted by the priest and, pouring ghee into the fire and workshipping it etc. according to his (priests') directions. (common to all communities).

19. *Tying the band by the priest on the right wrist of the bridegroom and the latter, tying a band on the left wrist of the bride and seating her on the righthand side of the bridegroom.*

Significance: To protect against occurrence of evil, till all the functions are over.

Practice: As laid down by the priest (common to all communities).

20. (1) *Worshipping feet of parents* (2) *Parents of girl doing this to the bridegroom:*

Significance: (1) Parents are next in status to God. It is a debt of gratitude. (2) The second act (worshipping feet of bride-groom) is because he is brought by them (from *kasiyatra*).

Practice: (1) Worship of parents' feet (common to all communities).

(2) The father-in-law or brother-in-law does it for the bridegroom (Brahmins only).

21. *Giving away with flowing water, taking the girl as a prize. from Agni curing of incurable disease through the weel of the chariot and the yoke:*

Significance: Making the girl the bridegroom's own. To instil responsibility.

Practice: As laid down by Priest (common to all)

22. *Placing the yoke on the head of the girl and pouring water through the right hole of the yoke (Indra) with sacred thread and gold, to thc chanting of mantras.*

Practice: As laid down by priest (common to all).

Significance: Gold indicates status, purity and honour. To indicate the auspiciousness, responsibility and duty to the girl, to indicate the journeying through elevations and depressions of the cart of domestic life, bearing burden and, stabilising oneself right through in life.

Practice: As laid down by priest (for Brahmins only).

23. *Circulating the Marriage cord for being blessed*:

Significance: Blessings by elders and those who have seen life, will give a prosperous life.

Practice: As laid down by priest (Common to all communities).

24. *Tying the Thali or Mangalya Dharam*:

Significance: Sign of bonding. A remembrancer - To let others know of the disciplined life.

Practice: (1) The first knot is tied by bridegroom and the second and third, by the married sisters-in-law or, all the three knots by married women (common to all communities).

(2) Holding of a lighted lamp by the sister-in-law (not among Brahmins) It is kept separate and some sects follow this practice.

25. *Showering rice and flowers as a blessing, to the accompaniment of loud music.*

Significance: To live closely with relatives and prosper and not to hear other defects.

Practice: As laid down by the priest (common to all).

26. *Exchange of garlands*:

Significance: Brahmins will exchange the garlands before tying the *thali* and, other communities after tying the *thali*. Making each other as own – Instilling the spirit of sacrifice. To increase the feeling of 'I' for 'you' and 'you' for 'me'.

Practice: The best man and bride's maid to remove and give the garlands to the couple, to garland each other (common

to all). Uncles of the Bride and Bridegroom will participate in the ceremonies as agents, in Brahmin communities.

27. *The bridal couple holding each other's hand, Pānigrahanam*:

Significance: To show to others that they, who have been united together by their heart, are now united by hand.

Practice: Common to all.

28. *Circumambulating the sacrificial fire (saptapati)*

Significance: To increase in auspiciousness. To walk seven steps, is to increase friendship and relationship and, a practice in unity.

Practice: To show unity in thought word and deed (*Saptapati* is for Brahmins only).

29. *Treading the mortar stone – Showing of star Arundhati and presenting ring*:

Significance: To be firm as a rock, against all evils and stand solid in chastity.

30. *Pouring puffed rice, presentation of ring therefor and getting a ring in return*:

Significance: With the prosperity and help of co-genitor, get unified with the husband. This is to prohibit wandering outside.

Practice: The brother of the bride gives puffed rice to her, who pours it into the hands of the bridegroom and, both pour it into the fire (common to all communities).

31. *Distributing sweets*:

Significance: To bless happily, eating sweets.

Practice: Giving the bridal couple fruits and milk (common to all communities).

32. *Exchange of seats by bridal couple*:

Significance: The rightful place of the bride is left, uniting as one half.

Practice: Common to all.

33. *Tying titular sheets (pattam)* :

Significanee: The badge of blessing, on assumption of new responsibilities.

Practice: Gold sheet, gold coin, discs, ornaments of *mangalyam*, any of these are tied (common to all except Brahmins).

34. *Presentations* :

Significance: Wordly debt.

Practice: This is listed and then at the weddings of the party who present them, presents are made in return (common to all).

35. *Sésha Hōmam and Sésha blessing* :

Significance: Blessing (To live without sacrcity and with prosperity. For this life's essential commodity, rice, is used in blessing).

Practice: Common to all.

36. *Petty Frolics* :

Significance: To overcome shyness, to create relationship and spirit of give and take, to make them active, to feel that success or failure is for both and to enliven the onlookers.

Practice: Various frolics according to the people. (common to all. Ādi Drāvidas play with mortar and peg stones, fancying them as Mother and child).

37. *Marriage Feast* :

Significance: To fill the stomach and enhance the blessings.

Practice: Common to all.

38. *Grahapravésam, Maru* : **(Entering the house newly as wedded couple and establishing closeness of relationship)**

Significance: **To go to husband's place. To hold a return dinner.**

Practice: Common to all.

39. *Nalangu performed by the bridal couple to each other:*

Significance: For both to be happy.

Practice: Among Brahmins only.

40. *Pachai Vazhithal:*

Significance: Blessings and good wishes.

Practice: Among Brahmins only.

Return Dinner:

41. *Pravėsa Hōmam:*

Significance: Blessings and good wishes.

Practice: Among Brahmins only.

42. *Sprouted grains (Mulaipālikai):*

Significance: Like grains sprouting and becoming fruitful, life should be fruitful.

Practice: This is done with the help of sisters-in-law and co-sisters (common to all. The Harijans, in a miniature field, sow seeds and the bride after feeding the bridegroom, returns home).

43. *Meals basket, Pile of Pulse pudding and can of refreshments:*

Significance: Presentation, assurance of purity and high status.

Practice: This is according to the means of the persons. (common to all).

44. *Nagavalli;*

Significance: Persons who wear tight neck jewel (உட்கழுத்து மணி) wear பொட்டு (coin) along with மணி (jewel).

Practice: Only among those who wear உட்கழுத்து தாலி (tight neck *Thali*).

K. K A. Venkatachari: We will now see some ideas underlying Brahmin marriages.

Janavasam: In a majority of these marriages on the day previous to the actual wedding, the reception of bridegroom that takes place is called *Janavasam*. This is of recent origin and this is neither a Vedic ritual nor a religious one. This is derived from the Hindi word *Janavasam* used to denote the place, where the bridegroom and his relatives are lodged.

Kasi Yatra: It is mistakenly thought that the father of the bride falls, at the feet of the angry bridegroom beseeching him to marry his daughter. Before *Kasiyatra* the ceremony called "*Vrata*" takes place; it indicates that the bridegroom has successfully completed his studies of Vedas and Sastras and, his student period. But even though he has studied thus far, he is desirous to study more and therefore, proceeds to Kasi regarded as the seat of learning. The girl's father knowing his intentions, approaches him saying "your education is enough. Please accept my daughter as wife and lead a householder's life". Hence there is no question of any anger or pacification in this ceremony, as is supposed.

Ladies leading the bridal couple: Next, the bride standing at the entrance of her house, welcomes the bridegroom. After they hold each other's hands swinging, exchange of garlands takes place. Then, a married woman circumabulates pouring water followed by another, carrying a lighted lamp and this is done by two more sets of women. After this, the couple is taken inside the house. This reminds us of the marriage rituals in 861 and 36 of *Agananuru.*

Treading the mortar stone: It is better to know the significance of this ceremony. The bridegroom places the bride's foot on the *Ammi* (mortar stone) and says to her that she should be firm and bear all sufferings in life as down in the Veda Mantram. The practice of using the mortar stone in the place of the ordinary stone, may be the result of the expression "*Ammi Mithikka Kanakkanden Thozhee Nan*" sung by Andal, in her *Varanamayiram.*

Tamil customs: Next, we will mention some functions sdecial to Vaishnavite Brahmins. They give a high place to

Tamil and the *Divya Prabandhas* of the Ālwars. Just before the concluding stage of *Sésha Homam* there is a function called "Pachai Iduthal" (பச்சை இடுதல்). The bridal couple sit facing each other and roll a coconut between them. At that time orthodox Vaishnava Brahmins sing all the ten stanzas of Āndal's *Vāranamāyiram* from Nāchiyār *Tirumozhi* depicting her divine dream. In between each of these stanzas, another stanza (the authorship of which is not known, is sung) :—

"ஓராலிலையில் ஒடுங்கி வளர்ந்தோனை
கூராய் உகிரால் இரணியன் உடலைப் பிளந்தோனை
கூராழி சங்கம் தரித்தோனை மாயோனை
சீரானைப்பாடித் தளிர் பண் படுப்போமே".

At the beginning of each of the stanzas, one set of people will beseech "My friend, describe all of that you dreamt" to which, the other set will reply "Friend, Listen well, to all that I dreamt." After reciting all the ten stanzas of Andal, thus the function called "Seer Pādal" (சீர் பாடல்) takes place at which, all relatives are introduced to each other by name, with the words "சீர் பாடிக்களிமின் பாடிப்போமே for each person thus introduced. All relatives names will be mentioned at this சீர் பாடல். The Purohit (priest) will conclude the function with the words.

"மாங்காய் பலாக்காய் வழுதுணங்காய்
மஞ்சளோடு இஞ்சி சிறுகிழங்கு நாம்
காணவாரீர்! மாதர் காணவாரீர்".

Such purely Tamilian rituals can be seen, only in Vaishnavaite Brahmin marriages.

N. Dévasahāyam: Polygamy is widespread among the tribes of India. The two forms of polygamous marriages (polygyny and polyandry) are practiced by the Todas of Nilgiris. The form of marriage among Todas has no religious significance, since it is regarded as merely a contract and, therefore the term marriage is very loose among them. In fact, it does not represent the real meaning of the husband and the wife in the family, brought under marriage, but it is merely the co-habitation of the two sexes at will and the position of children born in relation to several

husbands. To regulate a definite marriag-epattern among the Todas, the Government had paved the way by introducing legal marriages, under section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872. Accordingly, under the provisions of the section III of the Act, the Treasury Deputy Collector, of the Nilgiris was appointed as a Registrar of Marriages. Unfortunately no marriage was registered till 1965.

Because of the Polyandry system, no one among the Todas is able to know who is the actual person responsible for a conception. However, the final responsibility of maintaining the husbandship and fathership falls on any one of the Todas. Recognising the sociological father is done, by an unique social custom which is held at the 7th month of a woman's pregnancy. Prior to this function, the person (the would be father) is chosen by common consent and approved by a panchayat. This person will be her husband and the father, of the child which is expected and for all the succeeding children, until another man performs this essential ceremony. On a New Moon day this ceremony takes place under a Kiaz (Nāval tree நாவல் மரம்) near the husband's residence. The gathering includes the women in the front row and the men at the rear. A small lamp burnt with ghee, is kept in a hole made in the trunk of the Nāval tree. Small quantities of various grains and a bottle of honey are offered at the foot of the tree. Then, the bride and the groom start moving about, receiving the blessings, the presents and exchange greetings with those gathered. After this, the bridegroom goes in search of a plant called "pufdhoor" and brings it and prepares an effigy of a bow and arrow and presents it to the bride, as a token of love and affection. The function culminates with a feast and a dance by all members, thus gathered.

There is also another parellel instance to cite here, that is, a present given by the Kādars of Coimbatore and Cochin. It is nothing but a decorated and exquisitively carved bamboo comb (*Bambusa Arundinnacea* – 4½" in length) which the groom takes pains, to make, to indirectly show his skill and ability to his bride at the time of marriage. Similar types of carved bamboo comb are also found in practice among the Negritos of New Guinea.

Among the Gadabas of Orissa, there is a strange marital custom and rule, enforced on a girl, who is preparing herself for

the marriage. The condition says that unless the girl is able to spin yarn from the bark fibres of a number of wild plants (*ficus Glomerata* அத்தி மரம்; *Calotropis gigantea* எருக்கன் செடி; *Holarrhena Antidysenterica* கசப்பு வெட்பாலாஸ்) dye the yarn red, with the seeds of the Jabra (*Bixa orellana*) and blue with indigo and, weave it on the primitive handlooms, she is not fit for the glorious married life ahead of her.

The Koyas of Godavari area, who practice the marriage by ceremonial capture, adopt this method when the boy is unable to get the girl by straight means. In this case, he would lie in wait for her at a public place and toher surprise, apply vermilion mixed with oil to her forehead. Then the elders of the group will pour water from the gourd (*Langenaria vulgaris*) water bottle on the heads of the couple as a sign of their blessings.

The Ethnological galleries of the Government Museum, Madras, which have been reorganised during the last decade, have in their display, some of the interesting objects like the bow and arrow of the Todas, the bamboo combs of the Kādars, the bark fibre cloth pieces of the Gadabas and the gourd water bottle of the Koyas.

Apart from these exhibits, there are in the reserve collection, more than 40 items of *thalis, thali bottus* with *thalikodis* acquired as treasure trove items, all these years from the different districts of Tamilnadu, and about 20 gold diadems (*pattams* used to tie around forehead of the dead, during the Megalithic Period–2nd or 3rd century B.C.) excavated at the famous Megalithic site of Adichanallur in Tirunelveli District between 1876–1904.

Concluding remarks of Dr. N. Sanjeevi:

I am extremely happy to have followed the very interesting and illuminating discussion that has followed my paper. I shall make brief comments over the points that were touched by the participants. Thiru Somalay in his thorough and exact paper, has mentioned about the deity by name 'Sāstha' worshipped by the Chettiars. I feel that this Sāstha to have originated from the 'Sāttan' mentioned in *Maṇmēkalai*, as one worshipped by the merchant communities even then. As 'Sāttu' itself mean a merchant-guild Sāttan might have been the deity, particularly of that group. Then '*Ūruṇimaṇ*' (the mud of the drinking-water

tank) is said to have been used for preparing the dais of the marriage. This must be in remembrance of the important ceremonial bathing before marriage, so well mentioned in *Agananūṟu* poems. It must be pointed here that the verbal form *'Mannu'* means to bathe and the word *maṉam* means smell for marriage, and so the latter meaning must have connection with the function of bathing. With regard to the ceremony of informing the people of the place about the marriage, by going round on an elephant this seems to have been in vogue among the Pūvālur Chettiars of Tiruchirapalli District even during the beginning of this century. This information was given to me orally by Dr. M. Rajamanickam.

The importance of *'Kūrai-koduthal'* (giving of a particular type of a new saree prepared at Kūrainādu in Tanjore district) appears to have some correspondence with that of *'Mundu-koduthal'* which is the most important marriage ceremony (not tying *Thāli*) among the Malayalees.

Sprinkling paddy with flowers that is so common in Tamilnadu or in South, seems to be a very auspicious ceremony signifying blessings and greetings. In the marriages of Scotland also, according to a oral version of a Scottish missionary narrated to me years ago, there is a custom that should have come over to Scotland from Tamilnaḍu. The very precious information of *Ῑmbadaithali* (இம்படைத்தாலி) and marriage cord (*thāli*) that are considered as very important in the marriage ceremony in the Nagarattār marriages is surely the development of the instrument of *Thāli* of ancient times.

Then, with regard to the horse that is used by the bridegroom, Thiru. Somalay has not given any historical explanation. But I feel that this should have been reminiscent of that merchant community's overseas trade and commerce, particularly with the West. It might have also reflected its connections with the northern parts of India. The one point with which I am not able to fully agree with Thiru. Somalay is his suggestion of linking the *Thiruvādirai Nōnbu* conducted by the Chettiar girls with the chaste woman Ādirai of *Manimēkalai*. If further proof about this can be unearthed, it would be a matter of great interets.

With regard to the views of Thiru. C. Rāmakrishnan that the real reform marriage means simple inter-caste marriages and not

merely avoiding Sanskrit mantras, I am one with him. It is indeed a matter of deep regret that, even some of the so-called followers of Mahātma Gāndhi and Periyār E.V.R. are inclined to spend lavishly for the marriages connected with them or their families.

In this connection, I wish our secular governments who talk so much about socialism, make certain bans on the marriage expenditure of our people, irrespective of any status of any person.

We are thankful for the few anthroplogical and sociological notes given by Thiru Nal. Murugesa Mudaliār and Thiru S. Lakshmirathan Bhārathi respectively.

I am sure the notes of Prof. P. Āalālasundaram on Vaisiya Chettiars and Thiru K. A. Venkatāchāry's on Srivaishnava Brahmins and Thiru Kamaliah's on the Maṟavars of Tirunelveli district, would have impressed upon us, the need for exhaustive descriptive study of our castes and tribes even better than Edgar Thurston, availing modern facilities.

The thought-provoking new interpretations on the words *Iyer, Maṟai and Pārppaṉar* by Thiru Mayilai Seeni Venkataswamy deserve careful consideration.

Thiru Sundaramūrthy's note, has summarised some of the known historical facts.

I think Thiru K. Rāmalinganār has laid one and all of us, in great debt of gratitude by his simple, but scholarly account. He, as a much respected and often-sought person, for conducting Tamil marriages, has not only given a graphic account of the proceedings of the marriage ceremony, but has also explained in depth, their significances.

We are thankful to Thiru N. Dévasahyāam for his anthoropological notes which I think are already known.

I think in the study of marriage ceremony ultimately, it is the history and significance of them that are of immense value. Let us hope to have them in full, by further seminars and studies.

Thank you.

Concluding speech of Dr. K. K. Pillay:—

A wealth of information has been provided on this subject by the distinguished speakers, today. I am grateful to Dr. Sanjivi and the other speakers for participation in this seminar. There may be some who, due to want of time, have not participated in the seminar. I would request those who participated and those who wanted but could not do so, to kindly send the scripts of their speeches to me, so that I could have them published in the Institute's *Bulletin*.

Once again, I thank you all.

SECTION III : BIBLIOGRAPHY ON TAMIL CULTURE

BY

A. THIRUMALAIMUTHUSWAMY,
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(*Lecturer, Department of Library Science, University of Madras*)

[The earliar part of this Bibliography on Tamil culture was published in the Institute's Bulletin for June to December, 1972 — *Editor*]

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SECTION IV INSTITUTIONS, SCHOLARS AND ARTISTS

INDIA

DANCE :

The Sachin Shanker Ballet Unit (Bombay) :

Was started by Sachin Shankar in 1953 after his initial training in the dance art under Uday Shankar; he is an experimentor who has brought the 'ballet' style of dance art, to the masses without doing violence to tradition. The unit has produced a number of ballets viz., *The Discovery of India*, (based on Nehru's book), *The Fisherman and the Mermaid Sanjh – Savera, Jaya Parajaya Ramayaṇa, Chhatrapati Shivaji, The Train.* The troupe has visited Nepal, Bhutan and Russia. It represented India at the International Youth Festival in 1962. The ballet unit has at present 30 members. The *Illustrated weekly of India* (January 7, 1973) writes of Sachin Shanker in his experiments to bring the dance nearer to the masses as follows: 'In this he has relied chiefly on folk styles. His creations are immediately understood and have a current relevance. In addition to a basic knowledge of the classical idiom, Sachin Shankar has a sympathetic understanding of the spontaneous rythm, which finds expression among the various cultural groups in the country. He has sought to translate it and relate it to themes that have a meaning for the masses."

DRAMA:

Gomathi Swaminathan: (120, Vellala Street, Purasawalkam, Madras-7.)

Born 1917: A prolific writer of over 500 one Act, social and humorous dramas which are put on the stage throughout Tamil Nad and elsewhere, the most prominent among which are *Riotous marriage Mind do not be misled. Mr.Vembu* etc. Is also the author of larger works, *Echo* (Drama 1962), *Pleasure where are you* (Novel, 1962), *Révathi* (Shortstory, 1964), *Temples fostering Arts* (Essays, 1965), *Experts of Judiciary* (History, 1965).

Sundaram, S. D. (1, Sannathi Street, Lakshmipuram, Madras-14).

Born 1921. Is a prominent writer of scripts for films; a poet who has taken part in a number of poets meets; was secretary of Sangeetha Nātaka Sangam of Tamil Nad apart from being a writer of dramas. Prominent among his works are *Poet's dream* 1945, *Our mother*, 1946; *Man and Animal*, 1953; *Sprit of Heroism*, 1965 (all Dramas); *Vānamutham*, 1965 (poem). He has written scripts for a number of films like *Kalvanin Kathali*, *Kappolōttiya Tamizhan* etc. and won appreciation of Sangeet Nataka Academy for his dramatic works. Is a staunch patriot and courted imprisonment in the Independence struggle.

Trivéni Ballet: (New Delhi):

The Trivéni Ballet troupe is the performing unit of Triveni Kalā Sangam, New Delhi, a cultural centre devoted to the promotion of dance, music and painting. The Unit, under the directorship of Singhajit Singh, is dedicated to promoting the Manipuri style - a style still not widely understood and appreciated in India - by creating new items and ballets to show the range and versatility of this form. The troupe has performed in almost all countries of the world on several tours, three of them sponsored by the Union Ministry of Education under the cultural exchange programme. They were chosen to dance at Expo '70 in Osaka, Japan. The Sangam was founded in 1952 with two students and a donation of Rs. 100. To day it has its own building and 250 students on its rolls. Besides training in the three arts, the centre offers courses in "Introduction in Indian Culture", both arts and humanities. Two art galleries, a garden theatre, a library and lessons in Ikebana are some its other facilities. The Government of India has allotted a plot of land to Triveni to extend its activities and build a hostel. (*I,W.I.* dated 19-11-1972.)

LITERATURE:

Appadurai K. (Annai Illam, 8, Appāduraiyar Street, Madras-18.)

Born 1907; Versatile linguist in Malayālam, Hindi, Sanskrit etc.; has more than 80 literary works of his own to his credit

in Tamil, the prominent among which are the *Greatnees* of *Sangam Classics* (1949, Research Work), *Shadow and Light* (1950, poem), *Victory City* (1960, History), *English Tamil Dictionary* (1952) *Unfading Flower* etc. Has also translated over 75 books in foreign languages into Tamil, like Shakespeare's works, *Kenji story*, a Japanese Novel, *Malathi Madhavam* from Sanskrit, *Bhavabhūti*, a Sanskrit play, *Children World*, a translation of Alice in Wonderland, *Indulekha*, a Malayalam novel. Has also written a number of books in English like *Thoughts of Thiruvalluvar*, *Indian Language Problems* etc.; Was the President of Tamil Writers' Association and, awarded the Association's Prize forhis writings. Served in the Madras University's Dictionary Committee as Assistant Editor and, as a full time member of the Madras Official Language Commission. His versatility in all languages has won him the title of "*Pan Mozhi Pulavar*" (Savant of many languages).

Choodamani, R. (6, Alagappa Chettiar Road, Madras-7):

Born 1931. Is a Novelist, short story writer, who has attained distinction and some of whose works have been translated into Hindi and Kannada. Her *Manalhirkku Iniyaval*, 1960, a Novel has won her the Nārāyanaswāmi Iyer Prize for Novels from *Kalai Magal* a Tamil literary monthly, as also a prize from Tamil Nadu Government. Her "*Two saw*" a drama won her the prize from *Ānanda Vikatan*, a Tamil Weekly and "*Arunōdayam*" another drama from the Bombay Tamil Sangam. Her other prominent works are *Infant Face*, 1964 (Novelette); *What Mystery*, 1965 (short story); *Wealth which robbed money* 1965 (short story). She also writes stories in English, under the title Choodamani Raghavan.

Dey Bishnu (Bengal):

Bengali poet. Born in 1909, belongs to the first rank of poets, considered to be pioneers in the modern political movement; though deeply influenced by Tagore and Eliot, he maintains a distinctive style of his own; he is particularly conscious of the old traditions of Bengali poetry and equally eager to follow the modern trend of English and European poetry. Though a Marxist, he has not completely broken away from tradition. Some of his publications are *Urvasi O Artemis*

and *Chorabali*; *Anvistta*; *Smritti Satta Bhavishyat* which won him the Jñānpith Award. (*I.W.I.*, dated 25-2-1973).

Gnanasambandam, A. S., M.A., No. 11, IInd Trust Link Street, Mandavalipakkam, Madras-28.

Born 1916. Was Assistant Professor of Tamil inPachayappa's College, Drama Producer, A.I.R., Special officer for Tamil Development, Govt, of Tamil Nadu, Director Collegiate Publications and, lastly Professor & Head of Tamil Department, Madurai University. Has travlled widely in Ceylon, Burma, Malaysia & U.S.A. and delivered lectures on Tamil Literature and Religious topics. Is a versatile speaker and a prolific writer in Tamil. Has contributed over 100 articles in all leading journals in Tamilnād and foreign magazines like *Tamil Nésan, Singapore Murasu* and *Dinakaran* of Ceylon. Has written the following books:—

Rāvanan Mātchiyum Vizchiyum (The greatness and fall of Ravana). *Tambiyar Iruvar* (Two brothers). *Arasiyar Mūvar* (Three Queens). *Nādum Mannanum* (The king and the country). *Akam* (The family life of ancient Tamils). *Puram* (Social life of ancient Tamils). *Mahalir Valarta Tamil* (Women poets of Sangam Age). *Kural Kandu Vāzvu* (Life as depicted by Kural). *Ilakkiya Kalai* (Literary criticism). *Tellarṛu Nandi* (Tellarru Nandi Collection of Radio Dramas). *Putiya Kōnam* (New angle). *Desiya Illakkiyam* (National Literature). *Inrum Iniyum* (Collection of essays).

In addition, he has delivered six Memorial Lectures in the three Universities of Tamil Nad and Private institutions. They are:

Thiru Vi. Ka. A. (Kalki Memorial lectures of the Madras University) *East and West and Spiritualism and Materialism* (P. S. G. Memorial lectures). *Bhārati and Bhāratidāsan* (Annapoorani Rāmiah Memorial Lectures of the Madurai University). *Sankaradoss Swāmigal Memorial Lectures* (Madurai University Extension Lectures). *Bakthi and Philosophy* (Madras University Extension Lectures). *Manickavāsagar*, Annamalai University Extension lectures).

Gomathi Subramaniam: (33, Thātchi Arunāchala mudaly Street, Mylapore, Madras-4.):

Born 1925. A writer of short stories and novels in Tamil, who has won the first prize 3 times for best short stories in, the

competition held by '*Kalki*', a Tamil Weekly as also a first Prize for short stories once at the competition held by *Kumudam*, another Tamil Periodical. Prominent writings of this author are *Mirror of Mind*, 1956, *Beyond Reason*, 1963 (Short stories), *One Family*, 1957 (Novel), *Heart, when do you comprehend*, 1962, *Eclipse* (1963).

Paramasivanandam, A. M., M.A., M.Litt. (Shenoynagar Madras-30):

Born 1914; Has written over 35 works and dramas mostly on Tamil literature, criticism and Research, prominent among which are *Historyof Tamilagam, Society and Culture, Growth of Tamil Prose in the 19th Century and History of Tamil Prose.* He has also written in English. *The Gleanings of Tamil Culture, and Tamil Nad through the Ages.* His book *Kūdi Vāzh*has won him the Central Government's prize for adult Education and his book *Kavidhaiyum Vāzhkaiyum* has won for him the Tamil Nad Government's Prize.

Ramaswamy Pulavar, S. A. (105, Lingi Chetty St., Madras-1):

Born 1907. Has written over 150 works in Tamil out of which, his Tamil Scholars compendium (1947) Stories to illustrate Quotations (1963), Old Tales of South India (8 series) Dictionary of Puns, are quite prominent. Was an Assistant Editor of *Ananda Bodhini, Pracanda Vikatan* for some time. Was awarded a prize by South Indian Saiva Siddhānta Publishing Society.

Shanmuga Subramaniam, M: (Secretary, Tamil Nadu, Legislature, Madras-9):

Born 1921. Apart from legal works in Tamil, he has written historical works in Tamil like *Nehru's Golden Words, Lal Bhadur, Albert, Sehweitzer, Uncle Nehru.* His *Crime and Punishment* has won for him the Indian Government's Prize for Adult Education and his *Uncle Nehru*, Tamil Nad Government's Prize for children's literature.

Shanmukhasundaram, V: (Kavithālayam, 6, Alagammal Street, Madras-21):

Born 1929. A Tamil poet whose prominent works are "*Tamilalagan's poem*," 1960 (Tamilalagan is the author's *nom-*

de-plume), *Nectar of Children's prattle* 1961, "*Poo Maththapu*" (1962), the last two being poems for children. His poems have been translated into Hindi and English. He was awarded the title of "*Sandhak-Kavi-Mani*" (Expert in Rhymes) in 1965. He was also honoured by H. H. the Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Peetam.

Subbu, Kothamangalam : (71, Lloyds Road, Madras-14).

Born 1910. Is a popular short story writer; writer of poems and scripts for films. Conducts popular poetic dramas on prominent National leaders' lives of his own composition which are easy to follow even by laymen; has directed films and participated in numerous poets' meets. Prominent among his numerous works are *Manji Virattu* (Bull fight), 1946 (Short story): *Dramatic World*, 1947 (Drama); *Gandhi Mahan story*, 1947, poem. He has written poems and scripts for many box office hits among the Tamil films, like Avvaiyar, Miss Mālini etc.

Suddhananda Bharathiar: (Yoga Samājam, Srirām Nagar, Adyar, Madras-20):

Born 1897. Has studied all prominent Indian and Foreign languages. Has written over 170 works in Tamil, prominent among which may be mentioned "*Bharatha Sakthi Maha Kāvyam*, 1945, *Yoga Siddhi*, 1940, *Chariot of Time*, 1940 (Drama in Verse), *Keerthanāñjali* (songs) etc. He has also written over 50 works in English prominent among which may be mentioned, *The Gospel of Perfect Life Sri Aurobindo, the Divine Master, St. Valluvar and his Kural, Future of Mankind etc.* He has also written 6 books in French, 3 in Telugu 4 in Hindi. Apart from literary activities, he is a scholar in religious works and has been conferred titles like *Kavi Yogi (Poet Yogi) Mahrishi etc.*

Sukhi Subramaniam, T. N: (33, Thatchi Arunachala Mudal Street, Madras-4.)

Born 1917. Is in charge of Radio Plays in Tamil broadcast by All India Radio at Madras. Has written a number of Radio Plays and dramas. Has won the first Prize from the Tamil Nadu Government for his drama propagating its Five Year Plans, in 1959, from the All India Radio, Trichy for his Radio Play (1939) and also the first prize for short story in 1955 at the competition held

by *Kalki*, a Tamil Weekly. Prominent amomg his other works are *Bhāratheeyam* (1965-compilation), *Neo Poet Bhārathi*, 1965, *Thousand Pillared Hall*, 1962 (Critical Essays), *War time Literature*, 1946 (Essay).

MUSIC:

Ramanāthan, M. D. (Madras):

"If music is the only criterion in judging M. D. Rāmanāthan, he will rank among the greatest musicians in India to day." Born 50 years ago at Manjapara near Pālghat in Kerala; his father Devisa Bhāgavatar was a musician. He was not keen that his son should follow his footsteps; so educated him at College. M. D. Ramanathan took his B.A., degree. But his heart was set on music; became a disciple of Tiger Varadāchāriār, one of the greatest musicians of recent times. "M. D Rāmanāthan does not employ the usual tricks of Carnatic vocalists keeping up a fast tempo, producing a cataract of *swara* patterns and working up to a crescendo in which the violinist and the mridangam and the ghatam players participate." Not virtuosity, but feeling, is the chief trait of his music and his genius in conveying feeling or *bhāva* is unexcelled. His wild and grotesque gesticulations are not entirely irrelevant to his art. They seek to express the feeling. (*Illustrated Weekly of India*, dated 5-11-1972).

PAINTING:

Gujral Satish: (Constitution House, Curzon Road, New Delhi):

See also *Bulletin*, 1959, II, p. 317.

Originally a product of Partition of India and Pakistan; he says "I painted the partition not only because I had lived through it, but also because it provided a theme which matched my own mood of pessimism and tragedy". The most poignant words of this phase are his "Orphans of the storm" and "Agony in the Garden." Critics like Charles Fabri and Andre Malraux hoped that his paintings which bore only the colour of sorrow in the many coloured mosaic of life, would, in due course give expression to the joys of life; and it came with the advent of his marriage with Kiran, his artist wife. The tortuous complexities of the

earlier phases gave place to areas of calm. The violence of effect was softend to warmth. The subject as such was beginning to mean less and less and, the search for form became the dominant passion in his paintings. Gujral was the first to give Murals in India, the importance that it deserves; which took the place of paints and along with it the discovery of joy. Folk forms of Rajasthan, the paper folk arts, the designs of the Phulkari were his new themes. (*Illustrated weekly of India*, dated 28-1-1973).

Khan (Dr.) Faiyaz Ali: (Kishangarh, Rajasthan):

One of the foremost authorities on the Kishangarh school of art in general and, Nagari Das (nom-de-plume of Savant Singh, 1699–1764, a renowned poet prince of Kishangarh) in particular was, awarded the Ph.D. degree by the University of Rajasthan in 1952 for his work on Nagari Das; he collaborated with Eric Dickinson, who was Professor of English literature at Aligarh University and, later with Khandalavala in the interpretation of the verses of Nagari Das, on which some of the best paintings of the Kishangarh school are based. After retirement from service as a teacher. he devotes himself exclusively to his researches and to the revival of the Kishangarh school painting. (*Illustrated weekly of India* dated 25-3-1973).

Sherani Shahzad Ali: (Kishangarh, Rajasthan State):

A great painter of the Kishangarh School of painting, age, 25, son of Dr. Faiyaz Ali Khan, who is an authority on the Kishangarh school of painting; exhibited his artistic talent at a very young age; his father sent him for training in traditional painting under Kripal Singh Shekhawat of Jaipur; after training he has devoted himself exclusively to the Kishangarh style of painting and has completed about 15 Canvasses. On the top of every canvas is a verse of Nagari Das (nom-de-plume of Savant Singh, 1699-1764, renowned poet prince of Kishangarh) The paintings seen chronologically, show how Shahzed by his perseverence and single-minded devotion has improved with every work and it is only in his later work that one perceives occasionally the touch of a great master comparable to the best paintings of the early 18th century." (*Illustrated weekly of India*, dated 25-3-1973)

POPULAR SCIENCE:

Appuswamy, P. N.: ('Chitra' 24, II Main Road, Gāndhinagar, Madras-20):

Born 1891; a prolific writer of over 50 children's literature and Popular Science Books in Tamil, most notable among which are, *Wonderful World, Wonders of Electricity, Science Stories, Honey drop* (literary poems), *Picture story songs* (for children). He has a number of translations of scientific books from English to Tamil to his credit, prominent among which are *Science and Commonsense, Today's Seience and You, The Time Machine, The Story of China.* In joint authorship with late Prof. J. P. Manickam (Professor, Madras Christian College) he has written, *Let Us Scan the Sky Science Speaks* (for children), *Story of Atom etc.* His *Wonders of Electricty Radio and Broadcasting, X Rays Story of Atom* won him a prize from the Madras University. His *Let Us Scan the Sky* won the Unesco Prize. He has also been awarded prize for his children's literature and the Tamil Writers Association and Prize for his writings (1965) and Essays (1958). He is also the Director of Training in Translation, conducted by the Southern Language Book Trust.

Arunachalam, V: (35, Wālajāh Road, Madras):

Born 1919; A writer of books in Electronics and mechanisms in easily understandable Tamil. His *Radio Mechanism* (1962). *Radio Repairing* (1963), *Transistor Mechanism* (1963), *Amplifier Mechanism* (1963), *Electrical-Engineering* are the most popular among his writings for the non-scientific layman who does not have the benefit of formal education. He conducts evening classes in Tamil on Electronics.

RELIGION

Chockalingam Roya: (Alagappa College, Karaikudi)

Born 1898; Poet, writer and Editor of Gāndhian and Religious literature; is a staunch Hindu; was President of Hindu Religious Sangam for some years and Editor of *Oozhiyan* (servant) for some years; wrote over 15 works of which the prominent are "*Gāndhi Pillai Tamil Gāndhi Padhivenpā Thalattum Gummiyum* (Poem); *What is happiness, Kaveri*

(Prose). Has compiled over 22 books on Religion, literature and poems, prominent among which are *Kadal Pattu Thēnum Amudum Tiruvāsagathēn Kambanum Sivanum* etc. Was awarded a prize by Tamil Writers Association in 1964. Has travelled in Far Eastern countries.

Sivanadiyar Thirukkuttam: (Kumbakonam)

An association of Śiva bakthas from Kumbakonama nd its environs, who, for the last 25 years, have been coming together every Sunday and visiting some Sacred Śiva shine or other, in SouthIndia. They do *pradakshiṇams* (circumamnulation) with community singing of *Thevārams*. The members of this Thirukoottam are drawn from various professions like traders, merchants, lawyers, educationists and petty shop assistants. Women and children also join. There is no hard and fast rule to bind them to any rigorous course of discipline. But all of them wear the sacred ash and the many have been inducted to Śiva pūja, and the Rudrāksham. All these 25 years, the group has never once failed in their Sunday visits to a shrine. There is no caste or class consciousness among them. Rich and poor, they move as brethren. To say that they help popularise the *Thevārams* and *Thirumurais*, would be an understatement.

The genesis of this association is as follows:

Drought had made life miserable for people near Thirumandiyūr on the Ānaithāṇdavapuram—Mayūram bus route. This was during the last decade. Fields had gaping cracks, crops had withered and the economy of the whole neighbourhood had almost collapsed. A group of devotees of S'iva, called "*Sivanadiyars*" came for worship at the famous shrine there. They circumambulated the shrine singing *Thevārams*. Hearing of the plight of the people there, they sang Gñānasambandar's "*Megharāga Kurunji*" and to the surprise of everyone clouds gathered from nowhere and it rained heavily, to the bewilderment of the people of Ānaithāndavapuram and neighbouring villages.

The more important aspects of their activity is, the moral one of ennobling its votaries into a higher code of conduct. Their enthusiasm and devotion are infectious and in this respect their service is invaluable. The S'ivanadiyārs in Kumbokonam

are captained by Thiru S. Sundaresan Chettiar, a retired headmaster of a High School, who pioneered the idea of the Thirukkootam and in collaboration with the late Thiru T. S. Meenākshisundaram Pillai, the Thirukkoottam has been visiting the sacred places all over Tamil Nādu. Many stories are related of the miraculous ways in which they have been saved in difficult situations. The S'ivanadiyārs have written out one crore *Panchākshara Nāmas* in 100 notebooks which have been deposited in a sacred spot in the S'rī Someswaraswāmi temple in Kumbakonam, which they got renovated. The Adiyārs lead simple lives and eat frugally—whatever is offered them. Senāpathi P. T. S. Kumaraswāmi Chettiār was the founder-President of the Koottam and the mantle has now fallen on his brother Thiru P. T. S. Singaram Chettiar. They begin their official year with a Sunday Vazhipādu at Thiruvalanjuzhi Vināyakar shrine. The Śaivite Matāthipathis give them great encouragment—Madurai, Tiruvāvaduturai and Dharmapuram Ādheenams. Thiru Singāram Chettiar said that the main aim of the Thirukkoottam is propagation of Śiva Bakthi cult. The Śivanadiyār Thirukkoottam idea has caught on and, in some other districts, similar groups have been formed. Apart from inducing its votaries to lead good and pious lives and dedicate part of their leisure, to the deep study of the *Thevarams* and *Thirumurais*, the Thirukkoottam centres its activity around temples and community worship in pādalpetra shrines. Shrines where poetic offerings were made by saivaite saints.

Somasundaram Chettiār Kayappakkam: (23, Vellala Street, Aminjikarai, Madras-29.):

Born 1896. A deep scholar in Tamil and Sanskrit religious literature; delivered Religious lectures for over three decades on Śaivaism, Śaiva Siddhānta, Purānas, Religious rites, festivals and their significance. He has written a number of religious books prominent among which are, *Pancha Bhūta Sthalas* and *Tirumurai Pādalgal S'ivapurānam Story of Navarāthri* etc.

SWITZERLAND

PHILOSOPHY:

The Geneva Vedanta Centre: (Chemin des Gravannes, CH-1246 Corsier/GE, Switzerland):

Swami Nityabōdhānanda, a monk of the Rāmakrishna Mission founded the Centre in 1958, in a rented house. In 1972

it was housed in a building of its own. The Swami conducted regular classes on the *Bhagavad Gita* and on the Upanishads. In 1963, the birth centenary of Swami Vivekananda was celebrated by the Centre in collaboration with the Geneva University and the Government of the Geneva Canton. Since that time, the arts faculty of the University, has to invited, the Swami every year to deliver a series of lectures on topics concerning Indian thought and comparative religion and philosophy. In 1968 Dr. Henry Babel, a leading Church dignitary of Geneva, formed, together with Swami Nityabōdhānanda, the Committee for the Unity of the World Religions. This new step in the life of the Vedānta Centre was a vital landmark. Over the last fifteen years, the Geneva Vedānta Centre has formed study groups in France, at Avignon and Nimes in the south and, at Bordeaux on the west coast. Also, the Swami has taken a leading part in inter-religious congresses organised by the Sufi movement, annually in Paris, Rome and Milan Now the Centre has drawn up a programme of cultural and ecumenical activities, in addition to the present work of preaching, organizing meditation groups, and holding seasonal retreats.

U. S. S. R.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE:

Korotskya Antonina: (Moscow Institute of Theory, History and, Long range problems of Soviet architecture, Moscow):

A senior research associate at the Institute; is the author of many articles, books and manuals on Indian architecture: she developed a love for a study Indian architecture, when she went to Delhi after India's independence with a Soviet diplomatic mission; she travelled to many places in India and was captivated by her temples and palaces. Returning to Moscow, she devoted herself to research studies on Indian architecture. At present, she is working on Town Planning in India and intends to trace the influence of Indian architectural traditions on modern town planning. (*Moscow News*, dated 10-3-1973).

SECTION VIII: NOTES AND NEWS

19-6-1972 to 28-6-1972: Delegates from 30 countries including 26 ministers, met from 19th to 28th June in Helsinki for the Unesco-sponsored conference on cultural policies in Europe. As, the Director General said in his opening address, this was the first of the regional governmental conferences on cultural development which, following the international conference held in Venice in 1970, Unesco is preparing to convene, biennially, in various parts of the world. This venture will provide valuable guidance for the preparation of the meetings which are to follow: in Asia in 1973, in Africa in 1975, and in America in 1977. (*Unesco Chronicle*, Vol. XVIII, No. 8-9).

3-7-1972 to 7-7-1972: A meeting of experts was held at Unesco headquarters to discuss the concept of race, identity and dignity. The participants studied the reasons, why one feature rather than another, becomes a signal for different types of behaviour in some societies, and, how group self-opinions come to be formed and maintained. Nationalism is often accompanied by a search for an identity as indigenous cultures or, cultures of groups discriminated against, are used in organising opposition to the colonial power or to a dominant group. At one level, this may lead to a cultural renaissance, at another level it may change the group's self-image. Even though "culture" is important in group mobilization, there are a variety of nuances in the concept of culture, and various methods of using culture and of reacting to dominant cultures. The meeting examined these and the often forgotten fact, that neither dominant or dominated groups ever represent a single monolithic unit, but may themselves be internally differentiated. Groups often include a sense of cultural commitment. Groups and cultures also change in response to new social forces and, as relationships between the groups change, "race," "identity" and "culture" are not determined for all time, but continually reflect changing societies. This is particularly so, as the societies become more complex and as goals and values are elaborated and re-elaborated in new contexts. Economic interdependence may be conducive to stability under certain circumstances, or pressure for equal participation by one group may be resisted by others. The meeting discussed the issues and

problems which this poses. (*Unesco Chronicle*, Vol. XVIII, No. 8-9).

8-9-1972: On 8th September, International Literacy Day, the Director-General awarded prizes for work in the field of literacy, to two institutions at a ceremony at Unesco's Paris headquarters. The Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Prize, presented by the Shahinshah of Iran and worth $5,000, was won by the Grām Shiksham Mohim (Village Development Movement) of Maharāshtra State in India. The Nadezhda K. Krupskaya Prize, sponsored by the Government of the USSR and worth 5,000 roubles, went to Iran's Literacy Corps.

The Grām Shiksham Mohim was created at the end of April 1961 and carries out systematic literacy drives among adults of Maharashtra, which were so successful that by the end of March 1970, illiteracy had been eradicated from 36,693 villages and hamlets. Figures show that over nine million people, more than half of them women, were taught to read and write.

Iran's Literacy Corps is manned by high school graduates who have been drafted into the army for national service. They are trained for four months in teaching methods and then, go into the villages where they work under the government's school and literacy programmes, for another fourteen months. Since the corps was established in October 1962 almost 75,000 youths and more than 9,000 young women have taught, more than a million children and 550,000 adults to read and write. (*Unesco Chronicle*, 1972, No. 11).

November, 1972: In present-day society where peoples, ideas and goods are undergoing rapid and far-reaching changes on a world-wide scale, there is an increasing tendency for man's life to lose its local characteristics and, for man himself to become alienated from his own cultural heritage. Traditional culture is everywhere threatened with change, distortion or, even oblivion and extinction. This threat is particularly great in Oceania, where unique cultural traits have developed on the innumerable islands scattered in the southern and, western regions of the Pacific. With the exception perhaps of the highlanders of New Guinea, most peoples of this vast area, have been exposed to influences from the outside world, mainly from Europe, during the last two hundred years. Their traditional values as expressed in

their mode of life and culture have undergone gradual transformation. And now the great upsurge of economic expansion and technological development has affected even the remotest islands in Oceania and is engulfing their heritage. The situation is even more serious as this heritage is primarily passed on by word of mouth and there are not sufficient institutions or specialists engaged in its study and conservation. Urgent action is needed if the Oceanic peoples are to maintain the integrity of their life and culture. *Unesco Chronicle*, 1972, No. 11.)

February. 1973: The Director-General of Unesco, Mr. Rene Maheu, has called for European countries to co-operate irrespective of political exchanges. Mr. Maheu made the appeal when he received the 1973 Montaigne Prize in a ceremony at the Luxembourg Palace, Paris, on 8th February. The prize, awarded annually by the F. V. S. Foundation of Hamburg, is "to recognize the role of eminent representatives of European countries of Roman languages in the maintenance of the spiritual values of Europe and its opening to the world."

In his acceptance speech, Mr. Maheu, who is French, said he was convinced "there is an abiding deep moral solidarity among all the European countries, despite the most trenchant oppositions particulary between West and East. This solidarity is due to the existence of a common intellectual frame of reference which has grown out of manifold interactions in the arts, the sciences and in respect of ideas and values, the centuries."

"This spiritual fellowship has no doubt, had to bend to the requirements of a more and more rigid compartmentalization of the political and economic entities into which the continent is split, with a consequent tendency for it to be masked and reduced to impotence. But it is none the less there." (*Unesco Features*, No. 638/639, Feb. (I/II), 1973)

3-3-1973: The Fan Publishers in Tashkent have prepared for publication, a Russian translation of Abu-al-Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmed al-Biruni's treatise on pharmacognosia. Shortly before his death in the first half of the 11th century, this brilliant scholar of the Ancient East completed his most fundamental work, providing the descriptions of many drugs of plant, animal and

mineral origin. D.Sc. (Philology) Ubaidulla Karimov, who is head of the department, responsible for the scientific analysis of manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, has spent eight years studying and translating the work. It will be published on 80 quires with parallel text, in Russian and Arabic. The work of the Tashkent scholar is devoted to the 1,000th anniversary of al-Biruni's birth which will be celebrated this year. (*Moscow News*)

SECTION IX: REVIEWS

Historique Et Statistique De Karikal: Texte rédigé en 1825 par Le Capitaine de Vaisseau CORDIER: Presentation per Francois GROS. Vol. I, Publications De L' Institut Francais D' Indologie, No. 44, 1971 : 407 pages; (Translated title: *An Historical and Statistical Account of Karaikal; Text drafted in 1825 by Captain de Vaisseau CORDIER: edited by Francois GROS*; Publications of the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry).

This welcome and competently edited work is primarily an historical account of Karaikal, from 1739 when the French first acquired it, to 31st December 1824. The text is supplemented by several documents on the territory by its recapture in 1817–23, on the development pertaining to 1824, which is in response to a questionnaire from the Ministry of Marine, forming the actual statistical account, and finally with a complete census of the settlement for 1824 by Mr. Louis Sicé, Commissioner and Judge of Police. The entire work is by Capt. de Vaisseau Cordier, Administrator of the settlement. As the editor states in his introduction, it formerly belonged to a private library of Gallois Montbrun's, one of whose leading representatives was responsible in the middle of the 19th century for the rediscovery of Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary. We also gather that the cyclone of 1916 and other family difficulties scattered their collection, the relics of which were acquired by the French Institute from the last member of the family.

This text, unique in Pondicherry has not been cited in the E. Gaudart's catalogue on "The Archives of French India." On the other hand, the Historical Account of Karaikal appears in the National Archives (Archives Nationales, section d'Outer-Mer, carton Inde 383). The Pondicherry manuscripts which are edited by Mr. Francois Gros, represent the first successful attempt of a complete picture of Karaikal, its history, its resources, and its population—and this as early as 1825. The editor contends that this was at a period when British India had not yet compiled its best gazetteers. It may however be pointed out that Dr. Buchaman's report on Dinajpur, written before 1811 (but not published until 1833) can be considered the first district gazetteer

of India. However, two other district gazetteers were published before 1833. The honour of writing the first published gazetteer more properly belongs to Andrew Stirling. In 1828, he became private secretary to W. B. Bayley, acting Governor General. His—*An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack* was published as volume XV of Asiatick Researches by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1822. In 1825 Lt. Col. Monier Williams, published his Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche; the Result of a Revenue, Statistical and Topographical Survey of that Collectorate. This appeared in revised form in 1852 in Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government.

The volume under review is only an ensemble of administrative reports, which were destined neither to be pnblished nor expressed. Cordier breaks ground, but, this is not a pioneer work. The physical description of the settlement and the inventory of its natural resources are as a whole remarkable. The chapter concerning industry throws light on cloth dyeing, very detailed technical observations—those of fishing and local navigation are equally of a new technique, precise with figures. Cordier took a deep interest in the natives and it is seen that far from ignoring them, he tries to get to know and understand them. It is interesting to note the observation of the editor that if the least ethnological British administrator was forced, as per the plan of the gazetteer to speak *a propros* of the population, the caste manners, customs, religion etc., it was practically forbidden to Cordier by the questionnaire which he had to answer, to write on such subjects. The editor Mr. F. Gros has performed his task of preparing the manuscript for publication most creditably. The usable format of the book, good charts and valuable scholarly apparatus, are continued here in keeping with the fine traditions of the publications of the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry.

EMMANUEL DIVIEN

G. C. Pande: The meaning and process of Culture: Shiv, Lal Agarwala & Co., Agra; First edition, 1972; pp. v and 179, Price Rs. 15/-

Govind Chandra Pande, Tagore Professor and Head of of the Department of History and Indian Culture in the University of

Rajasthan, Jaipur delivered in 1969 a series of lectures on the Meaning and Process of Culture under the auspices of the Department of Philisophy in the University of Rajasthan. The present book is the text of these lectures with certain additions made subsequently.

As indicated in the Preface to the book, the author has tried to argue that "Culture is the social expression of value-seeking and history is its process. Value, again is intrinsic only in the Self. In this sense, the quest for self-realization is the deepest motivating force of history". This view of history is shared in some measure or other, by other great thinkers like Rene Grousset and Dr. Arnold Toynbee. For instance, the former observes: "True history is the history of spiritual progress, the history of man's progress in spirituality. The function or humanity is to help mankind to emerge and fulfil itself or, as the Indians put it in an admirable formula, 'to become the one he was'. Likewise Dr. Toynbee in his *Study of History* conceives the aim of history, despite the materialist generalizations in which he indulges, as to bring oneself "in commnnion with Absolute Reality". The rise, development and fall of whole civilization, are explained away in terms of their contributions or otherwise to the attainment of ultimate Reality, whatever that may mean. The late Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri of the University of Madras in his article on Objective History argues that objective History is impossible and, that the "path of a true historian is the path of the Yogin, of one who has united himself to the supreme spirit, the sole Reality". Such a standpoint of history would make historiography, as the author himself admits, more a philosophical criticism of ideas and symbols as expressed in institutions, philosophies, religions, art etc., than a scientific endeavour to discover laws of the 'motion of society'. Not historiography alone would lose its identity in the interpretation as a quest for self-realization, but also all branches of knowledge like Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry etc. In other words, it would be, as the Upanishad declares, *Sarvam khalu idam brahman.* (All in Brahman). The standpoint of the historian, however, is not identical with that of the philospher. As Prof. E. H. Carr points out "Henry VIII may have been a bad husband and a good king. But the historian is interested in him in the former capacity only in so far as it affected historical events. Stalin is said to have

behaved cruelly and callously to his second wife; but as a historian of Soviet affairs, I do not feel myself much concerned."

The ten chapters of the book, as well as the four appendices are indeed an excellent exposition and, bear on the central theme of the author mentioned above. The philosopical-cum-metaphysical vein in which the book is written, gives a deep insight into the meaning of culture, a task which the author has accomplished admirably well.

P. S. VENKATASUBBA RAO

T. G. Kalghatgi: *Karma and Rebirth*; L. D. Series 38; L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9; first edition, Novr. 1972, pp. 75, Price Rs. 6/-

The text of three lectures on Karma and Rebirth delivered by Dr. T. G. Kalghatgi at the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad and first published in the Institute's Journal, *Sambodhi*, are reproduced here in book form. The twin concepts of Karma and Rebirth, constitutiong as it were the, two sides of the same coin, are very basic to Indian Philosophy and Religion; and they have been woven in the very texture of Indian thought and society. Indian Philosophy holds Karma as *anādi* (beginingless) though it has an end in final release (*mōksha*). But Dr. Khalgatgi, while observing that "it is difficult to say when the concept of Karma originated in India" is inclined to hold that the doctrines of Karma and Rebirth "must have been pre-Aryan doctrines which were important in Sramaṇa culture and later assimilated in Āryan thought, by the time the Upanishads were clearly formulated". The doctrines are attempts to find suitable philosophical solutions to the enigma of virtue suffering and, vice flourishing and the unequal distribution of misery and happiness. The theories of Accident, Necessity, Fate etc. are not satisfactory explanations. Nor are they mere dogmas. *Apropos* the interpretation of Karma by Western scholars like Karl Potter, who thinks that it is a type of habit and, the Western religious notion of it as a mere doctrine of retribution, a theory of rewards and punishment, the author pleads very rightly "I cannot understand Potter's interpretation. I can only say one must be steeped in Indian tradition in order to understand the nature and significance of Karma. An insight into it is sought to be conveyed

by a citation from Aurobindo: "Fundamentally, the meaning of Karma is that all existence is the working of a universal Energy, a process and an action and a building of things by that action, an unbuilding too, but as a step to further building that all is a continuous chain in which, every one link is bound indissolubly to the past infinity of numberless links, and the whole governed by fixed relations, by a fixed association of cause and effect, present action the result of past action, as future action will be the result of present action, all cause, a working energy and all effect too, a working of energy". The author gives a lucid account of the Karma theory as found in Jainism, Buddhism, Yoga and other Vedantic systems. There is a discussion of the arguments and counter argument of the logical justification of the doctrine and the problems of determinism versus free will.

Transmigration of the soul is a corollary of the doctrine of Karma; so a philosophical study of the doctrine of rebirth follows. The arguments for and against Rebirth are critically examined. Views somewhat parallel to the Indian notion, are sought to be shown in the writings of scholar slike Mr. Mc. Taggart and Mr. Mc Dougall. The author concludes as an Indian protagonist: "The doctrine of karma and the consequent principle of Rebirth are expressions of the highest knowledge and experience of seers. Its logical justification is neither possible nor necessary".

All in all, the book is very commendable; it is a comprehensive and critical survey of the doctrines of Karma and Rebirth and their nuances according to various schools of Indian thought.

P. S. V. Rao

Sweeney, Amin: *Malay Shadow Puppets*: (The Wayang Siam of Kelantan, Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1972. pp. 84; Plates 36. Price not stated).

This profusely illustrated booklet is not merely a muchneeded guide to the picturesque Malay section of the Shadow Puppet Gallery of the British Museum, but also a succinct study of the art and technique of the Wayang Siam, now flourishing in Kelantan, the northernmost district of Malaysia. About the simplicity of its technique, the author rightly remarks: "A traveller returning home may demonstrate this technique and a play develop,

which appears indigenous in every respect......Morever, the presence of foreign influences in puppets, repertoire or music, does not in itself prove that the technique originated from the same source as these influences."

Even though Mr. Sweeney declares, at the outset, that it was not his purpose to explore the origin of the Shadowplay art, he states, though casually, in the same para, that "some recent studies of the Indian shadow-play, both classical and popular, increase the likelihood that it is in India that we must seek the origin of the shadow-plays of South East Asia." The same view was expressed by Prof. K. A. Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri also, a few years ago.

But this had always been a subject of much speculation. It is indeed undeniable, that the Wayang Siam is a realistic descendent of the world-famous fantastic Wayang Wong (Shadowplay) of Java. It is also true that the Indonesian prototype does almost always choose its themes, as does its Malaysian descendent, from the truncated Javanese varsions of the two great Hindū epics the '*Rāmāyana*' and the '*Mahābhārata*.' And, again, it can be conceded further that this art had always been a rain-making ritual, rather than an entertainment, in India as well as in Indonesia. Nevertheless, there are chronological difficulties in jumping to the conclusion that India was the lender and not a borrower.

The celebrated Dutch archaeologist and historian, N. J. Krom in reconstructing the pre-history of the Javanese civilization from the current ethnology of non-Hinduized Indonesians, has attributed to its prehistoric material culture (a) rice-cultivation by artificial irrigation, (b) dyeing of textiles by 'batik', (c) the Gamelan Orchestra and (d) the Wayang Wong or the shadow-play. The primary meaning of the term 'Wayang' in the Indonesian language is 'a dead person's spirit', and the secondary sense of 'shadow' is obtained only by its extension. Thus, the term, Wayang Wong must have connoted originally "a spirit preformance".

The earliest literary reference to a spirit-play occurs in China. The emperor, Wu-Ti, of the Han dynasty, (1st century B.C.), was shown, an animated shadow of his favourite concubine on the 1st anniversary of her death and was told that it was her

spirit. When the deception was discovered, the Taoist priest, who committed the fraud, was beheaded. The incident reveals the fact that the art of the shadow-puppet play, had been a novelty in China in that century and, that it was smuggled there from some other land. But it become popular soon after and went by the name 'YING HSI.'

There is no satisfactory evidence for the existence of this art in India *before the 1st century*. The earliest reference to a three-dimensional puppet-play (Śobhanika or Śaubhika) occurs in Patañjali's "*Mahābhashya*" of the 2nd century B.C.

> "*Ye taved ete.*
> *śobhanikā nāmaile pratyakṣam Kamsam ghātayantī*
> *Balim bandhayantī iti.*"

Here the famous grammarian refers to 'Śobhanikas' performing "the killing of *Kamsa*" as well as "the binding of *Mahābali*." There is nothing to suggest that the puppets were made of transparent leather, nor is there any indication that their shadows were *projected on a translucent screen.* Dr. Luders and his school of orientalists, however, opined that these might be shadow-plays. They deduced their view from Subhaṭa's '*Dūtāṅgada*,' 'Meghaprabhāchārya's *Dharmābhyudaya*,' and Dāmodara Gupta's '*Mahānāṭaka*'; (works of an age a thousand years later!), which were either explicitly stated or surmised as "ccbāyā-nāṭakas" (Cchāyā = shadow, Nāṭakas = dramas). These scholars had inadvertently overlooked the fact, that the above-mentioned dramas were all composed in Sanskrit without Prākrit. It is well-known to every student of Sanskrit Drama, that 'Cchāyā' meant only 'a Sanskrit translation' of a Prākrit passage occurring in a drama. The above plays were, therefore, Sanskrit translations of their original stage-versions in local dialects, and not shadow-plays.

The next supposed reference occurs in the "Shānti Parvan" of "*The Mahābharata*" (295-5/6 of the Calcutta Edition), where Bhīṣma quotes Parāśara as follows: "Appearance on the stage (Raṅgāvataraṇa), Rūpopajīvanam (?), exhibition of puppets, the sale of spirits and meat and trading in iron and leather should never be adopted for purposes of living by one, who had never before engaged in these callings, everyone of which is regarded as censurable in the world. If one engaged (hereditarily) in them

can renounce them, he acquires great merit." (Translation by M. N. Dutt).

In this passage, 'Rūpopajīvanam' is mentioned as *distinct* from puppetry. Nīlakaṇṭa, the celebrated commentator (17th century after Christ), unambiguously explains the former as the profession of shadow-performance behind a thin white cloth.

> " *Rūpopajīvanam = Jalamaṇḍapika iti Dakṣiṇātyeṣu Prasiddham Yatra sūkṣmam vastram vyavadhāya carmamayair ākaraih rājā amatyādinām carya pradarsyate.*"

He declares that the art was very popular (prasiddham) in South India (Dakṣinātyeṣu). But that was in the 17th century A. D. when Java and India had already established a millenium-old intimate relationship with each other. Are we justified in accepting Nīlakaṇṭa's statement as applicable the 1st Century A. D. when the above passage was incorporated into the Mahābhārata by a redactor? We have no evidence, Even then, it is too late by two centuries after the Chinese episode.

Aḍiyārkunallār, the famous commentator of the Tamil epic, "*Śilappadhikāram,*" refers to 'Tholpāvai' (leather - puppet). The term might apparently connote a shadow-play also. But the text of the epic does not mention it. Nor is there anything to suggest that these puppets were made of *transparent leather* and not flexible 3-dimensional marionettes. '*Nizhal āṭṭam*' is a different art, distinct from '*Tholpāvai.*' And, further, Aḍiyārkunallār flourished in the 12th century which, was, again, a millinium and a quarter after the Chinese emperor Wu-Ti.

While Indology has thus failed to discover any trace of the existence of shadow - plays in India *before the 1st century B.C.*, no one has as yet dared to disprove the ethnic and archaeological conclusions of N. J. Krom, arrived at after years of study and research *in situ*. Chronology, for the time being, decides that the art of shadow - play was indigenous to Java and not an imported craft.

The animation of the Malayan puppets is confined to one or at times two hands, the rest of the body remaining static. There are coloured as well as monochrome puppets. Not more than two characters appear on the screen simultaneously, as they had to be handled by a single manipulator.

The basic theme of the plays is the ***main story*** of the '*Ramayaṇa*' and the '*Mahābhārata*'. But there are a hundred variants in the adventitious episodes. Even the basic 'trunk story' is that of the Javanese versions of the two epics and not their Indian originals. The names of characters too are modified. Rāvaṇa is called 'Mahārāja Wana', Kumbhakarṇa becomes Mah Babu Kenung, Vibhīshaṇa, Mah Babu Sana, Indrajit, Mah Babu Nerajit, Sugriva is changed into Sagariwa, and Sītā into Sīti Dewi.

The book is attractively got up in high-class art paper with 36 plates and a map, eight of which are multicoloured. There is a useful glossary of technical terms at the end. The brochure is a very valuable contribution to the study of comparative ethnology and folk art.

V. RĀMASUBRAMAṆIAM (Āuṇḍy).